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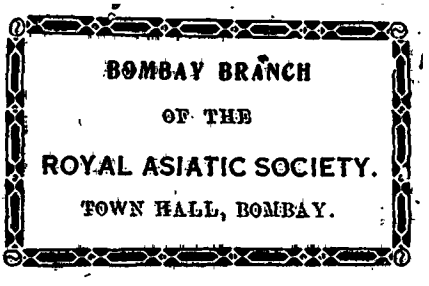


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# THE LIFE

# SIR WALTER RALEGH.

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*TOGETHER WITH HIS LETTERS;*

NOW FIRST COLLECTED.

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BY

EDWARD EDWARDS.

VOL. II.—LETTERS.

MACMILLAN AND CO.
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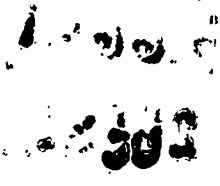

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TO THE MOST NOBLE

ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT GASCOYNE-CECIL,

MARQUESS OF SALISBURY,

*ETC. ETC. ETC.*

THIS FIRST COLLECTIVE EDITION OF THE

*LETTERS OF RALEGH,*

DERIVED IN LARGE MEASURE FROM THE RICH COLLECTION OF MSS. AT HATFIELD,

IS, BY PERMISSION,

gratefully inscribed

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

EDWARD EDWARDS.

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# CORRIGENDA TO VOL. II.

Page 271, line 2, *omit the word* 'Nottingham.'

„ 329, line 10, *for* '1610,' *read* '1611.'

„ 344, line 5, and 346, line 21, *for* 'Bisseaux,' *read* 'Buisseaux.'

„ 380, at top ('LETTER CLX.'). The lost lines in this mutilated letter (partially burned at Ashburnham House) may be thus supplied from an early copy:—"For this proves superioritie and not inferioritie, which noe absolute monarch ever yeilded unto, or ever will. Thirdly, it shewes that the English beare greater respect to the Spaniards, and are more doubtfull of their forces, then either the French or Dutch, who daylie invade all parts of the Indies, without being questioned at their retourne. Yea, att my now being at Plymouth," &c.

# INTRODUCTION

TO THE

# *LETTERS OF RALEGH.*

Of the one hundred and sixty-six letters, written by Sir WALTER RALEGH, which in this volume are now first collected, one hundred and twenty-five are printed from the originals. Of the forty-one letters for which only transcripts, more or less ancient, could be found, nineteen have been taken from manuscript sources, and twenty-two from printed sources. Of the letters taken from originals, many are now printed for the first time; and until now, many even of the best-known letters have never, it is believed, been printed correctly.

Sources of the Letters now printed.

Eighty-two of the original letters employed for the text of the present volume are preserved in the fine collection at Hatfield of Letters and State Papers of the Tudor and Stuart reigns, which belongs to the Marquess of SALISBURY, by whose most obliging and liberal permission they are here printed. Twenty-seven other originals are preserved among the national archives brought together of late years in the new Rolls House.

These are found partly in the series of *Domestic Correspondence*, and partly in that of *Irish Correspondence*. Many of these Rolls House letters have never heretofore been used—probably were never looked at—by any biographer of RALEGH. Eleven others of the original letters are scattered amongst the various groups of manuscripts, amassed by different collectors at different periods, which now, in their aggregate, form the '*Department of MSS.*' in the British Museum.

Dispersion of the Cecil and Burghley Papers.

Perhaps, few collections of Papers which—in a special sense of the words—may be called 'Family Papers,' have had so curious a history as the CECIL PAPERS have had, if we take them integrally. Few collections illustrate so pointedly and pithily the diversitude of accidents—the chances of fire and flood—the perils amongst robbers, and the perils amongst the false brethren of collectorship—to which precious manuscripts are exposed. Lord BURGHLEY formed a considerable collection at Theobalds, and bequeathed it to his second son, ROBERT, afterwards Earl of SALISBURY. Lord SALISBURY removed the collection from Theobalds to Hatfield, and took considerable pains to provide for its perpetuation there. But, long before the collection descended to its present noble possessor, a portion of it had suffered grievously from damp and from neglect. It was only by the accident of an odour, which could not be explained, coming into occupied rooms (built over cellarage), that

the existence of a heap of papers, amounting to several thousands in number, was discovered. The finding of this mass of documents—to the place of deposit of which there was no reference, it seems, amongst the then known series—occurred within living memory. The discovery was sufficiently in time for the saving of a large proportion of the whole; but some papers had, of course, decayed beyond recovery.

By the present Marquess of SALISBURY measures were immediately taken for the careful arrangement, in its entirety, of a series of documents which is at once a noble memorial of family service to Britain, and a precious storehouse of the materials of British history.

Meanwhile, other portions of the vast CECIL collections had wandered far afield. Within but a few years of the lifetime of Lord BURGHLEY himself many of his papers had passed into the hands of Sir ROBERT COTTON. Some of these suffered mutilation in the fire at Ashburnham House, as this volume will testify. Others, after many adventures and many hairbreadth escapes from destruction, came in later days into the noble collection gathered by ROBERT HARLEY and EDWARD HARLEY, Earls of Oxford.

Another large series of CECIL PAPERS remained, until his death, in the hands of Sir MICHAEL HICKES, who had been Secretary successively to

Lord BURGHLEY and to Lord SALISBURY; and whose secretarial collections seem to have included, impartially, original papers as well as copies; for which, indeed, he had too much precedent. Part of HICKES' papers passed successively into the hands of STRYPE, the historian, and of JAMES WEST, the well-known collector. This portion was eventually acquired by the first Marquess of LANSDOWNE, and, in due time, became part of the great national collection in the British Museum, as the *Cotton Manuscripts* and the *Harleian Manuscripts* had previously become. But some of the '*Cecil*' or '*Burghley Papers*,' known to have been once in the hands of JOHN STRYPE, are not now to be found amongst the *Lansdowne Manuscripts*. They had strayed into out-of-way places. Many, in all probability, have been destroyed. A few found their way into the collection which was formerly one of the ornaments of Stowe, in Buckinghamshire, and are now, I believe, in Lord Ashburnham's library, in Sussex.

In like manner, during the bygone days of neglect at Hatfield, predatory hands were laid on some of the papers which had formed part of the old Theobalds collection. Some such have passed, by the ordinary channels of commerce, into private collections. A few have passed, occasionally, into the great national repository in Great Russell Street, and form part of different groups

of documents variously acquired. Thus it is that the search for 'CECIL PAPERS' carries the searcher's inquiries, not only to the collections of the Family itself, as well as to the vast archives at the Rolls House, and to the well-known, and more or less well-catalogued, collections of *Cotton MSS.*, *Harleian MSS.*, and *Lansdowne MSS.* at the British Museum, but also to a series less easily consulted, because only partially catalogued,—that which bears the designation '*Additional MSS.*' in the same repository. It has also chanced that two volumes of transcripts, made in the lifetime of JAMES, Earl of SALISBURY (sixth of the Cecil Earls), have passed, by donation, into the same series; and of two or three of the papers contained amongst those transcripts the originals are not now, it seems, to be found at Hatfield. Hence it is that, in the RALEGH Letters hereinafter submitted to the reader from originals, Letters, all of which now belong to the British Museum, will be found described as taken from no less than five several groups of papers, gathered at various times and by different collectors; and a letter or two addressed by RALEGH to Sir ROBERT CECIL—and known to have been once kept at Hatfield—will be found to have been derived, as printed in these pages, from mere transcripts, instead of being drawn from the fountain-head. In several cases, parts of one and the same correspondence, on one special subject, have had to be sought for

at Hatfield, at the Rolls House, at the Museum, and at Oxford.

My own sense of deep obligation to the Marquess of SALISBURY, for the use he has so liberally permitted me to make of the Hatfield papers, will be shared by all readers of the following Letters who take an interest in the full elucidation of that plastic epoch of our history in which RALEGH's correspondents, as well as himself, played such great parts.

Other Sources of Ralegh Letters.

Three other original letters have been printed from the University Registry at Cambridge. These relate to RALEGH's controversy with that University about the licensing of vintners in the town of Cambridge, under his Letters Patent of 1583, and during the Chancellorship of Lord BURGHLEY.

One brief, but very interesting, letter is derived from the original preserved among Bishop TANNER's MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. That letter connects, by a passing but important incident, the name and enterprises of Sir FRANCIS DRAKE with those of RALEGH.

Another letter, addressed, in 1589, to the cousin and lifelong friend of RALEGH, Sir GEORGE CAREW, has been derived from that portion of the '*Carew Papers*' which forms part of the collection of manuscripts brought together at Lambeth by the open-handed liberality, and the provident

love of learning, of a long series of Archbishops of Canterbury.

In common with many other inquirers who have occasionally profited by the use of that collection, the writer has had cause to regret the recent policy of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in regard to it. The closing of the Lambeth Library will, it may be hoped, subsist only for a time. But it seems (to some of those whose inquiries were abruptly broken off) the more regrettable from the notoriety of the fact, that the present Archbishop of CANTERBURY was endeavouring to enlarge the facilities for study, instead of lessening them, and that he had to permit the closing of his Library, whilst he was still urging on the Commissioners the performance of their plain duty, as well to the public at large, as to the munificence of departed benefactors, by providing adequate means for the permanent extension of its public usefulness.

Of the forty-one RALEGH Letters which are now published from transcripts—preserved in manuscript or in print—ten have been derived from one or other of those manuscript collections which have been mentioned already as being the several constituents of the Department of MSS. at the British Museum. Six others have been taken from the Rolls House MSS. One has been copied from a Bodleian manuscript at Oxford. Nearly all

of these seventeen MSS. are authoritative. Either from the known character and position of the transcriber, or from the internal evidence of the letter itself, or from circumstantial evidence of a collateral sort, the copies which have been printed are, in every instance (it is believed), substantially authenticated. Transcription, indeed, always carries with it some amount or other of possible and probable inaccuracy, verbal or literal, of which it would be easy to find instances in copies—intended to be exact—made by a writer himself from his own letters. The collation of copies made at various times has been practicable in respect of several of the RALEGH Letters, the originals of which are either not known to exist, or are no longer accessible. The variations have been, in such cases, carefully noted. In every instance the source from which the letter has been printed is indicated. When a transcript has been followed, the date at which it was made has been stated, when known to the Editor.

Sources of the Ralegh Letters already printed.

As respects those of the Letters which are merely reprints, the earliest print has usually been followed. They amount, in all, to little more than one-eighth of the whole number of Letters; and at least twelve out of the twenty-two are as satisfactorily authenticated in the character of word-for-word, though not of precisely 'literal,' copies as are the best of the manuscript copies, taken from the Harleian Collection or from the national

archives. There is no room, I think, for doubt that the four letters about the 'Capture of the great Carrack,' which are reprinted from STRYPE'S *Annals*, or the three letters, on various subjects, which are reprinted from MURDIN'S *Burghley Papers* (the originals having been, as it seemed, misplaced for the moment at Hatfield), were, in substance, accurately copied by STRYPE or by MURDIN respectively from the original document as it came to his hands; although neither STRYPE nor MURDIN was careful to follow the exact method of spelling words employed by the sixteenth-century writer.

Method followed in the transcription and printing of the Letters.

On this orthographic point, it may here be said that the one hundred and twenty-five letters which are now printed from the originals are printed, literally, as RALEGH wrote them. But this faithful reproduction does not extend to a servile repetition of mere elisions, or of stenographic symbols, some of which seem to have been peculiar to the writer himself, whilst others of them were common to him and to several of his contemporaries. Sometimes, for example, he abbreviates a word by writing the consonants, and connecting them with a wavy mark or line, which stands in lieu of vowels — a sort of shorthand which is amply sufficient when one has become familiar with a man's autograph, but the imitation of which in print would answer no useful purpose. For like reasons, other and less uncommon abbre-

viations are in these volumes extended; and no attempt has been made to discriminate between short *i* and long *j*, or between *u* and *v*, as far as respects words which the writer himself was wont to spell sometimes with the one letter, and sometimes with the other. I have ventured to hope that the book will be read occasionally by other readers than those who have Elizabethan archæology at their fingers' ends, and to think that it is no part of an Editor's duty to print what, to the youngest of his readers, cannot but prove a puzzle, instead of printing what to every reader must needs be plain English.

The earliest of the partial collections of the *Letters of Ralegh* in print was that which accompanied the tract entitled *The Sceptic*, printed at London, in 1651. It contained only eight letters. Then followed that which forms part of the *Remains*, published in 1657, and therefore within the lifetime of the writer's surviving son, CAREW RALEGH, and within that of some of his own contemporaries. No important addition to these seems to have been made until Dr. THOMAS BIRCH published his edition of Sir WALTER RALEGH'S *Miscellaneous Works* in the year 1751. OLDYS, perhaps the most learned, certainly and incomparably the most painstaking, of RALEGH'S biographers, had, after long search, ferreted out twenty-eight letters, including as well those which

Birch's edition of Ralegh's Letters.

were still in manuscript as those already in print. The number of the letters printed in the *Remains of Ralegh* is eleven; that of the letters printed by BIRCH is thirteen. But Dr. BIRCH, although he possessed many eminent qualities, and did excellent service in his day to historical literature, was a careless editor. He had a multitude of avocations, which he pushed on abreast, and one or other of them was getting continually thrust against the wall. Few of his contemporaries had equal familiarity with the original documents of English history. He was constantly engaged in the transcription of such. But probably it would be a difficult matter to show that any one among his innumerable transcripts possesses *exact* accuracy. His text of RALEGH'S Letters is less trustworthy than that of the *Remains*, published a century before. On the other hand, it is far more trustworthy than that published eighty years afterwards, from the University Press at Oxford. A collection of letters more abounding in errors, more chaotic in sequence, or more devoid of those editorial helps and appliances of which epistolary books stand more obviously in need than most others, it would not be easy to find. The amount of care expended in collecting the Letters was in entire keeping with that expended in editing them. The total number printed in the eighth volume of the *Works of Ralegh*, in 1829, is twenty-six. Half a dozen others had been previously printed in the

The Oxford edition of the Letters (1829).

first volume, as they occurred in the old *Life* by OLDYS. Not a word occurs in Volume VIII. to tell the reader that he will find other letters in Volume I. The series of twenty-six *begins with* a letter written in or near the year 1610—or about the sixth year of RALEGH'S imprisonment; and the series ends with one written in the year 1713—almost a century after RALEGH'S death. Intermediately, we have letters of 1617; then of 1584, and of 1603. And that letter of 1713 cannot be called a 'forgery.' It was never intended to deceive. It bears the plain mint-mark of the *Englishmen* and the *Tatlers*, in company with which it was printed; and the internal evidence that it must have been the composition of Sir RICHARD STEELE is every whit as palpable as is the internal evidence that it could not possibly have been the composition of Sir WALTER RALEGH. The productions of the University Press of Oxford would not have won their high and well-deserved fame had not such editing as this been a very rare exception in the course of the long series.

The Letters of Ralegh, addressed to the Cecils;

Of the Letters which occupy the greater part of the present volume, no less than ninety are addressed to one or other of the two famous CECILS who helped so largely to shape the policy and to influence the fortunes of England during nearly the whole of RALEGH'S lifetime. If to these we

add the eleven other letters superscribed "To the Lords of the Council"—an address which occasionally meant but little more, in fact, than an address "To Lord Treasurer BURGHLEY" or "To Mr. Secretary CECIL"—we find that almost two-thirds of RALEGH'S correspondence, so far as it is now known to be extant, is more or less a 'Cecil Correspondence,' and therefore relates, with but rare exceptions, either to affairs of State and of official duty, or else—in the later period especially—to personal and pecuniary interests, for the advancement or protection of which the influence of the Treasurer or Secretary was sought. These letters contain many valuable contributions towards the history of a period teeming with great events. They also contain many by-touches of self-portraiture, which are, perhaps, far truer representations of mind and character than the happiest impressions of photography, in modern days, are of outward form and feature. But probably the reader, like the Editor, would have gladly exchanged a few of the letters on public business—howsoever important—for one or two of those friendly epistles, addressed, perhaps, to SPENSER, or to BEN JONSON, in which RALEGH may now and then have taken up the thread of some remembered conversation, 'on Mulla's shore,' about pastoral poetry, or in which he may have fought over again some tongue-combat at '*The Mitre*,' or at '*The Mermaid*,' about the old historians of Greece

and their subject-matter.

or Rome, or about the laws of poetry, or the rising glories of the English stage.

If letters such as these are absent, the reader will find some compensation in the many letters of a strictly personal sort which have been preserved, and some of which are here first printed. Others of them have been so printed (in the pages of miscellaneous periodicals, or of 'Transactions' of learned Societies, known only to a very small circle of readers), as that they are still substantially new. They have had almost as little publicity as if the MSS. had never until now been disturbed. Much additional information will be found, it is hoped, about the mysterious plots of 1603, both in the later RALEGH Letters, and in the letters printed in the Appendix: and some of the new documents will throw fresh light upon old ones. The letters, too, which were addressed to Lady RALEGH from Winchester, and from the Tower, possess an undying interest for all Englishmen. One of them first gave RALEGH his place amongst the popular letter-writers of England. It has figured in many Collections of Letters and of '*Elegant Extracts*;' and is, perhaps, almost as widely known as any epistolary composition in our language. That letter, it will be seen, affords several curious instances of corruption of text, arising both from careless copying, and from the endeavours of ambitious editors to improve upon their author.

Other Correspondents of Ralegh.

Among RALEGH'S less frequent correspondents will be found Secretary Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM; the Earls of LEICESTER and of ESSEX; the Lord Admiral HOWARD of EFFINGHAM (afterwards Earl of NOTTINGHAM); ARTHUR, Lord GREY of WILTON, Lord Deputy of Ireland; the Lord Chancellor EGERTON (afterwards Baron ELLESMERE and Viscount BRACKLEY); the Lord High Treasurer BUCKHURST (afterwards Earl of DORSET); that fatal friend HENRY BROOKE, Lord COBHAM; and JAMES' royal Consort, ANNE of Denmark.

In all probability, RALEGH addressed many more letters than one to Queen ELIZABETH; but only one is known to have been preserved. It has been already printed, but not accurately. It is here given from the original, preserved in the Cecil Collection at Hatfield.

Lost Letters of Ralegh.

Considerable as is the number of the Letters now collected into this volume, there exist many indications that another considerable portion of RALEGH'S Correspondence is still to seek. Many references to letters not now known to be extant occur amongst the State Papers preserved at the Rolls House. In the Council Register Books at the Privy Council Office I have met with numerous like references. Some such references, it will be seen, occur in the printed letters themselves. And, finally, it may be remarked that although OLDYS was acquainted with but twenty-

eight letters written by Sir WALTER, one,[1] at least, of those known to him is lacking in the present collection.

Part of the missing Correspondence has doubtless perished. Some of the Letters which in the following series are printed for the first time have escaped perils so many, and so varied in kind, that it is almost a marvel that they, also, have not perished. But another part, I trust, may yet be discovered. There is even some reason to think that in the Library at Hatfield itself, from which, by the marked kindness and liberality of its noble owner, I have been permitted to make so large an addition to the RALEGH Letters heretofore known, others will yet, on further search, be found. This, however, is at present only a hope. I have laboured diligently to discover, by every channel and effort which have been open to me, letters the existence of which—in some repository or other—I had found good reason to infer.

Sometimes, a scarcely anticipated success has rewarded the effort, when made under quite other than promising circumstances. But oftener, and even under conditions much more hopeful, it has been followed only by disappointment. And—as it has happened in many other like cases—several of the Letters which have not been recovered

[1] Namely, a *second* letter addressed to Sir Michael Hickes, the Secretary of Lord Burghley. I believe that I saw this letter,—some years ago,—but I have failed to recover it in time for the present volume.

possess, either from their known subject-matter or from the circumstances under which they are known to have been written, a special biographical interest; whilst many that have been found are, on that score, of slight value.

Probably, the publication of the letters contained in this volume may yet, in some instances, lead to the discovery of their missing companions. Should the book meet with a sufficient portion of public favour to warrant me in reprinting it, it may very fairly be hoped that the new edition will, to some extent or other, be an augmented one, especially as regards the *Letters of Ralegh*. But that no hope of this sort has induced, knowingly, any perfunctory carelessness in the preparation of the present edition, is a fact which those who honour the book with a perusal will, perhaps, be the less inclined to question when they are assured that—since it was begun—journeys have been undertaken in search of missing RALEGH Letters and papers which, in their aggregate, amount to more than two thousand miles. It so happens that the materials of RALEGH biography lie scattered—in a degree which I believe to be unusual—in all parts of England. And, as the readers of these volumes will perceive, there are materials not a few in Continental repositories.

Of the circumstances of one among these many biographizing journeys I venture to think that I may here make some mention, without incurring

the charge of irrelevant egotism. The search, in that instance, was both a troublesome and a fruitless one. But the statement which led me to make the journey has something of historical curiosity about it, and it is worthy of being again reprinted. It connects two of the most famous names in English history. Perhaps the putting on record of the now certain fact that what has often been alleged to exist does *not* exist,—at least in the place assigned,—may hereafter save unavailing labour to some future inquirer. Until February 1867, although more than half a dozen of the biographers of Sir WALTER RALEGH had repeated the assertion that JOHN HAMPDEN busied himself in collecting at Hampden House, in Bucks, no less a mass of RALEGH'S writings than amounted (when fairly transcribed by an amanuensis whom he had established in the house, a year or two before his own death, expressly for that task) to "three thousand four hundred' sheets, not one of them, I find, is known ever to have troubled himself with an inquiry at Hampden (where books and tracts collected by the great Parliamentarian remain to this day), as to their existence or their loss.

The story was first told by DAVID LLOYD in his book entitled *State Worthies*. He tells it so circumstantially that, although later writers on RALEGH have, as has been said, taken no pains to prove the statement, or to disprove it, they have

not failed to keep it alive by repeated echoes. Lloyd's words are these :—

"Master HAMPDEN, a little before the wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3452 (*sic*) sheets of Sir WALTER RALEIGH'S MSS., *as the amanuensis himself told me;* who had [at Hampden House, in Buckinghamshire] his closet chamber, his fire and candle, with an attendant, to deliver him the originals, and take his copies as fast as he could write them."[1]

By the obliging courtesy of Mr. GEORGE CAMERON HAMPDEN—in whom the lineal representation of Hampdens, Trevors, and Hobarts is now vested—the Editor was permitted to make a thorough search at Hampden House for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not any waif or stray of this alleged mass of RALEGH MSS. has survived. No such papers, I was told, were known to its owner; nor had his attention ever been called to LLOYD'S statement. I found there a fine library—chiefly modern, but including also some precious rarities of old time—and a considerable collection of MSS., consisting partly of diplomatic correspondence, and partly of family muniments of the usual kind; but after a two days' search not a single mauuscript leaf connected with RALEGH, nor any record or trace which threw light on the assertion first printed in the *State Worthies*, exactly two centuries ago.

[1] David Lloyd, *State Worthies* [1668], p. 675.

Minutes of Ralegh Letters in Dr. Williams' Library.

Not long afterwards I had the satisfaction of meeting,—in a less likely quarter,—with a curious RALEGH volume, which seems to have been written towards the end of the seventeenth century. It adds but little to previous knowledge, since nearly the whole of it is already in print. But it enables me to add, in this place, fragments of three letters, —or of minutes of *intended* letters,—addressed by Sir WALTER RALEGH to King JAMES the First, at various periods during the imprisonments in the Tower. I incline to the belief that they are 'minutes' merely; or, in other words, letters drafted, but never written. They are, however, although mere fragments, intrinsically worthy of preservation. The main interest of the volume from which I quote them is that it also contains fragments—not, as I think, otherwise known—of RALEGH'S lost treatise, *Of the Art of War by Sea.*

These letter-minutes appear to belong respectively to the years 1611, 1615, and 1616. The opening sentences of the second fragment were afterwards used in the formal dedication to King JAMES of the tract to which it refers. The fragment of 1611 runs thus :—

### TO THE KING.

[From a transcript, contained in a manuscript collection of tracts by RALEGH, entitled '*Fragments of Sir Walter Raleighe's*,' made in the seventeenth century; formerly belonging to the Rev. JOHN JONES, Vicar of Alconbury, and now preserved in Dr. WILLIAMS' Library in London, fol. 237. This transcript is headed: 'AN

EPISTLE TO THE KING'S MAJESTIE.' The letter is evidently unfinished. It may be conjectured that its subject is in some way connected with the Discourse about the Marriage of Prince Henry. See Vol. I. chap. xxii.]

1611?

To the King. [From the Tower.]

"*To the high and mighty* JAMES, *by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith.*

"MY MOST DREAD SOVERAIGNE AND LIEGE LORD,

On the providential blessing of male issue; written, perhaps, with reference to the *Discourse on the Marriage of Prince Henry.*

"Amongst temporall blessings given from God and powred upon men this is not the least—for a man to beholde the frute of his owne bodie; *surculum ex radice*, an impe or graffe from the stocke;—the olive branches about the table;—the hope of his posterity;—the image of him selfe;—and the staffe of his old age. The consideration of the want whereof caused that good Patriarch out of the bitternes of his soule to crye and to make his complaint unto his God: '*I goe childles; and the steward of my howse is* [this] ELIAZAR *of Damascus: Behold, to me thou hast given no seed; wherefore, loe a servant of my howse shalbe my heire.*'

Gen. xv. 2, 3.

"But to be furnished with masculyne yssue, and to have the firstborne of that sex to whome the birthright is due as to the sanctified of God, the preservation of his name, and the heire of his patrimony, is a double blessing to all men;—much more unto Kings, the Lord's annoynted: whereby their throne

is established; their subjects, in the middst of the day present, do behold that sunn which shall ryse upon them in the day succeeding, and have theire harts setled to say unto their souveraigne, '*Wee and our seed will serve thee and thy seed for ever.*' For this was God's blessing unto the propheticall King: '*When thy dayes be fulfilled, thou shalt sleepe with thy fathers, and I will set up thy seed after thee, which shall proceed out of thy body, and will establish his kingdome.*' And contrariwise was Ahab accursed, of whome God said: '*Interficiam de Ahab mingentem ad parietem,*' threatninge by that circumlocution to roote out all yssue male of Ahab that might succeed him.

2 Sam. vii. 12.

1 Kings xxi. 21.

"Hence it is that all potentates of the world have highly respected and advanced to great honor[1] in the sight of their subjects the person in whome their succession is established and their memory preserved—theire heire apparent of theire crowne, and have given and conferred upon them high and eminent titles. Of the Romanes he was called *Cæsar et Princeps juventutis*, as the principall of all their hope in their posterity. And to like purpose by allmost all nations 'the Prince;' the French adding a peculiar name in respect of his patrimony, '*the Dolphin*,'—

[1] First written '*height*,' and corrected in the margin of MS.

given by UMBELICUS to PHILLIP VALOIS, King of France, upon condicion that the heire of France should ever after enjoy it, and carry that name and title. And the title of heire apparant to the Crowne of England" . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Then follows the fragment which appears to have been intended to accompany a MS. copy of *The Prerogative of Parliaments*:—

TO THE KING.

[From the same transcript, fol. 246, verso, without superscription or signature. The first two sentences of this letter Ralegh afterwards used (with modifications) in a long and formal dedication which he prefixed to the presentation copy of the book ('*The Prerogative of Parliaments*') to which the letter relates.]

1615?

To the King.

With a copy of the tract entitled *The Prerogative of Parliaments.*

"THOSE that are supprest and hopeles are comonly sylent, wishing that the common ill might sort with their particuler misfortunes. It is otherwise with mee, who am not like the dogge that breaks his teeth in byting the stone that strake [him]. The grace I have found hath bene from your Majestie onely, and the life, such as it is, which I enjoy is of your guift.

"In my former travell with my penn,—that of my sword to your Majestie's infinite disadvantage refused,—though it hath bene disgraced, I cannot yet thereby be beaten from

my desier to serve your Majestie with the affection which hath nourishment from my dutie to God, and, from the goodnes of my King, cannot change.

"And, though your Majestie in this,[1] as in the rest, fynde mee a foole, that I have bene falce you shall never fynde. God knowes it. I hope your Majestie thinks it."

The third fragment, which relates to the Guiana expedition, is as follows:—

### To the King.

[From the same transcript, fol. 229.]

1616?

To King James. [From the Tower.]

On the proposed Expedition to Guiana.

. . . . . .

[*The beginning is wanting.*]

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

"For, weere it not out of a singuler devotion to doe your Majestie service, I take it, under your Majestie's gracious pardon, for a libertie *mal entendu* to be removed out of this steddy Tower into a rowling shipp, to change the dyett of soft bread and fresh meat for hard biskett and salt beife, to drinke unsavory water, instead of wyne and beare, and to disorder an aged, worne, and weake

[1] *I. e.* in the work entitled *The Prerogative of Parliaments*, the presentation copy of which this letter was to accompany.

bodie with watching, travell, and distempered heat of the Indies; besids a world of other harmes and hazards. For the rest, most renowned Soveraigne, I most humbly beseech your Majesty to conceive that I never had any hidden or any dishonest intention in this point.

"There have bene, in all ages, some that have risen againe after a civill death; yea, we have of them [some] now liveing which take themselves to be honest men, and so beleive of them. Why they may not write while they lyve in nature, I know not. If by writing they may serve their countrie and be profitable to others, *they* are dead, in charitie, that thinke the contrary, and [are] to be numbred amongst those *qui gloriantur in malitia*, of whome I have spoken before."

. . . . . .

[*The end is wanting.*]

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

The Correspondence with King James.

Of the other letters to King JAMES,—which are printed in the body of the volume,—many will be found to be entirely new to the reader. Others are now printed from the originals, which heretofore have been known only by inaccurate copies. Among the letters of both kinds—those now first published, and those which are but reprints—are

one or two which rank among the most characteristic fruits of their writer's mind. Several of them contain passages which it is painful to read; but they are among the most precious materials of biography.

Of two other letters, purporting to have been written by RALEGH, I entertain doubts of a different sort from those which apply to the fragments in the JONES MS. They were printed, more than two hundred years ago,[1] in the volume entitled "*A Collection of Letters made by Sir* TOBIE MATHEWS." TOBIAS MATHEW was the well-known son of that Bishop of Durham who became RALEGH'S successor in the possession of Durham House, and therefore he was himself Sir WALTER'S contemporary. But his character in literature, as in life, is such as to give very small authority to his statements. He was made up of crotchets and affectations. He had a special fondness, I believe, for treating correspondence somewhat in the way in which it was treated by his contemporary JAMES HOWELL, or—still more conspicuously—by a famous poet of the next century. He gave, it would seem, to his letters fictitious addresses, fictitious dates, fictitious headings, and fictitious interpolations. It is possible, of course, that the two letters assigned by him to RALEGH,—and published by his editor, Dr.

[1] In November 1659, but with the imprint, 'Lond. 1660.'

JOHN DONNE, four years after MATHEW'S own death,—are genuine; but the authority is eminently unsatisfactory, and to the best of my knowledge neither of them derives confirmation from external sources. I therefore print them in this place, rather than in the body of the volume. I print them literally as they were printed in 1659, and with the fantastical headings which TOBIE MATHEW, or Dr. DONNE, was pleased to prefix to them. The first letter—if it be genuine—does not, it is obvious, relate (as has been suggested) to the sale of the house at Mitcham in Surrey, in order to raise money towards the expenses of the fatal expedition to Guiana. That house was purchased from Lady RALEGH by Sir THOMAS PLUMER (an ancestor of the PLUMERS of Hertfordshire), to whom assuredly the expressions "*the gentleman who is so greatly in favour*," and who "*hath many faire fortunes before him*," have no relevancy. If those phrases be not mere imitations of similar phrases in the well-known letter to Sir ROBERT CARR, they are, at least, reiterations of them, plainly pointed at the same Court favourite; neither is it possible that the phrase, "*we have nothing to look for but misery*,"—howsoever true potentially, and in the event,—could have been used by RALEGH, of himself and his family, at a date immediately prior to his outset for Guiana, when he was full of great schemes of enterprise, if not full of hopes.

If this letter be indeed genuine, and be faithfully printed, it obviously must relate to the negotiation with CARR about the Sherborne estate, and must belong to the year 1609, not to 1616. The subject-matter of the other letter refers it, just as evidently, to the year 1618, and to some late period of the year, almost immediately before Sir WALTER'S execution.

The undated letter of 1609 is thus headed in the collection of 1659:—

"SIR W. RAWLEY TO A GREAT LORD WHOM HE ENTREATES TO GIVE HIM JUST ASSISTANCE IN HIS BUSINESSE.

1609?

Letter alleged (by Tobias Mathew or by John Donne) to have been written by Sir W. Ralegh to some nobleman unnamed.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,[1]

"I HUMBLY beseech your Lordship to give me leave, and pardon to[o], if I need it, for the answering of those things which you were lately pleased to object against me; and that you will, charitably, also consider of my demands, and of the reasons which embolden me to make them.

[1] This form of address, to other than the Sovereign, it may here be observed, does occur in the course of the correspondence hereinafter printed, but it is extremely unusual with Ralegh. I do not remember that it is once used by him in addressing the Lord Treasurer Burghley. It occurs, once—in 1604—in a letter to Lord Cecil, relative to the delivery of the Seal of the Duchy of Cornwall. If this letter of 1609 be genuine, the person most likely to be asked by the writer to "consider charitably of my demands, and of the reasons which embolden me to make them," is evidently the Lord Treasurer Salisbury. But I see no trace of such a letter among the Hatfield MSS.

"Those answers go here, in a paper which is enclosed apart, and my letter shall say but thus much: That the gentleman who is so greatly in favour hath many faire fortunes before him; and we, nothing to look for but misery; and that he is better able to give us above the worth of the land, than we in condition to abate any part thereof. And therefore we humbly beseech your Lordship that your compassion and care of honour may be the judge between his prosperous navigation and our shipwrack, and that your charity for us, and your desire of satisfaction for him, may equal the ballance between us.

"I hope so heartily to find as just favour at your hands, as I will venture upon this to assure you that I will do all my uttermost to make my wife and my son forget their misery in themselves, and to be ever mindful of their duty to your Lordship, to whom I hope they will be, as I am sure myself have been, and am, a most faithfull humble servant, &c."

[1618.] Letter alleged (by T. Mathew or by J. Donne) to have been written by Sir W. Ralegh to King James.

The undated letter of 1618 is thus headed:—

"SIR WALTER RAULEIGH TO KING JAMES; WHICH SEEMES RATHER TO ACKNOWLEDGE FAVOURS, THAN TO DESIRE THEM.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

"My sad destiny hath been such, that I could never present Your Majesty but with

a prospect upon my complaints and miseries, in stead of doing You services which might have been acceptable to You. I have not spared my labour, my poor estate, and the howerly hazard of my life; but God hath otherwise disposed of all; and now end the dayes of my hope.

"I must neverthelesse, in this little time in which I am to live, acknowledge and admire your goodnesse, and in all my thoughts and even with my last breath confesse that You have beheld my affliction with compassion. And I am yet in nothing so miserable, as in that I could never meet an occasion wherein to be torn in pieces for Your Majestie's service; I, who am still Your," &c.

I am bound to add that, for myself, I wholly decline to believe that RALEGH wrote thus to King JAMES *in October* 1618. RALEGH was sometimes a flatterer, and there had been a time when he had shown himself very capable of flattering (even fulsomely) that shame of our English throne; possible as it may be that some of his panegyric is but irony. I venture to think, nevertheless, that in the very last days of life he could scarcely write to the King who, at the express bidding of PHILIP the Third's Cabinet, had already commanded him to be put presently to death, for a conspiracy,

fifteen years before, with Spain against England, such words as these: "With my last breath I confesse that You have beheld my affliction with compassion," and "I am in nothing so miserable, as that I could never meet an occasion wherein to be torn in pieces for Your Majestie's service," until I shall see those sentences under his hand; or, at all events, find better authority for them than that of Sir TOBIE MATHEW, or of King JAMES' Dean of St. Paul's.

Lost Letters, addressed by Ralegh to his brothers and nephew.

Among the missing letters, the lack of which I especially regret, are to be mentioned a series —fourteen in number—that were addressed to RALEGH'S half-brothers, Sir HUMPHREY and Sir JOHN GILBERT, and to his nephew, the younger Sir JOHN GILBERT. These letters are known to have belonged to the eminent collector, Mr. BRANDE HOLLIS, towards the close of the last century; and all of them, there is reason to think, were in the possession of the late Mr. MACVEY NAPIER—formerly Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*—early in the present century. They passed to him, it seems, through the hands of the Edinburgh bookseller, ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE (the 'Old Crafty' of Scott and Lockhart). Repeated inquiry has hitherto failed to elicit their fate. The following is a list of those letters, which I copy from a note addressed to CONSTABLE at the time when they were offered to him for purchase:—

No. 1. "To my very loving brother Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, Knight. Dated 4 *April*, 1592.

2. "To his nephew [Sir JOHN GILBERT the younger]. 1597.

3. "To the same. 14*th July* [no date of year].

4. "To the same. Without date.

5. "To his brother. 1588.

6. "To Sir JOHN GILBERT, Knight. 1591.

7. "To the same. Addressed: — *For Her Majesties especyall affaires.* To Sir JOHN GILBERT, Knight, at Dartmouth. *Hast, post, hast; hast with speed.* Without date.

8. "To his nephew, Sir JOHN GILBERT the younger, Governor of the Fort at Plymouth. Without date.

9. "To the same. Without date.

10. "To the same. Without date.

*11. "To Sir HUMPHREY GILBERT, with a present from Queen ELIZABETH. Dated '*Richmond, March* 18, 1582.'

12. "To the same. Without date.

13. "To his nephew, Sir JOHN GILBERT the younger. Without date.

*14. "To Sir JOHN GILBERT. Without date."

To this list its writer adds these words: "All the above were received by me from the late BRANDE HOLLIS, Esq., F.R.S., S.A." The list is unsigned, and undated. It is addressed: '*Mr. Constable.*' Should it now chance to fall under the eye of any reader who may be acquainted with the whereabouts of any of the letters mentioned in it, a communication of such knowledge would be most gratefully received by the Editor of this volume.

All these Gilbert letters must needs possess some biographical value. Three, out of the fourteen, have become known to me,—in the course of the preparation of my book,—two of them from transcripts made for Dr. THOMAS BIRCH, about a hundred years ago, when their originals were still at Plymouth, in the possession of the GILBERT family; and the third from a transcript made for Mr. NAPIER. They are here printed under the numbers VI., LII., and LXXXIII.

The fate of the remaining eleven letters is the more reasonably a subject of curiosity from the circumstance that another and most curious letter —falsely, as it seems, ascribed to RALEGH himself by his brother's descendants—accompanied those of the letters in the above list which were shown to Dr. BIRCH; and I have now before me his transcript. It would seem to be simply inconceivable that so strange an incident as is recorded in that letter should have occurred to Sir WALTER RALEGH, without mention of it by any of his news-writing contemporaries or by any of his many enemies. Among the proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber of the year 1601 there is, however, this one small point of coincidence: RALEGH's disgraced servant and bitter opponent, JOHN MEERE, in one of his pleadings about the Sherborne business, speaks of his master as having done a certain thing alleged "*since the Queen's pardon.*" No other allusion to 'a pardon'

is known to me. But, on the whole, the fair and obvious probability is that the letter now in question was written by one of the GILBERTS —in spite of its express but incredible endorsement: "*Letter of Sir Walter Ralegh, in the possession of Pomeroy Gilbert, Esq., Fort-Major of Plymouth, Descendent of Sir Humphrey.*" Be that as it may, it is intrinsically deserving of publication.

The Gilbert family is now represented by WALTER RALEGH GILBERT, Esq., of The Priory, near Bodmin. That gentleman has obligingly informed me that no papers are in his possession which throw light either on the letter now to be printed, or on that (also remarkable) addressed to Sir JOHN GILBERT the younger, which I have printed at page 193 of this volume.

Letter of a writer unknown, to a nobleman, or Privy Councillor, unnamed; formerly ascribed to Sir W. Ralegh.

"WHERAS it pleased your Lordshipp for his sake who while he lived did especially love and honor your Lordship to be a mean to her most excellent Majestie for my pardon, who out of her aboundant mercy and grace vouchsafyd the same, in whos service I shall be evermore reddy to yeild up and sacrifice that life which it pleased her Majestie to bestow upon mee at thys tyme: when I came to London to pled and take the benefitt of that her Majesties grace, I was notwithstanding so carefull and fearfull to give

offence, as after I hurd of the Lord BURROS[1] returne I forbore to go abrode or to follow any busness of myne own in London, or elswhere; preparing as secreatly as I could to have pleaded the pardon and so to have returned ether to Irland, to have served her Majestie ther, or to have followed any other her Majesties service whersoever. Notwithstanding the Lord BURGH, contrary to the generall opinion which he seemeth to desire should be held of his valer and honorable dealing, lodged himselfe neare the place where I lay in the Strand, and abowt mydnight stole into the howse wher I was, in hope to have me in my chamber all alone, ether aslepe or utterly unprovided; when, because he found the dore of my chamber shutt and that he could not, without rumore, forc the same, he departed away; and the morning following stole to the howse again desguised, and comes to the chamber dore which, by sure securing[2] not above half an houre before, I caused to be kept lockt; and finding hymself a second time disappointed, he knockt at the chamber dore, and counterfayting a voyce, sayd he was a frynd of myne and byd me open the dore. But by the

[1] Thomas Burgh, fifth Lord Burgh, or Borough, K.G., summoned to Parliament from 11th Jan. 1563 to 24th Oct. 1597.

[2] So in transcript; but the reading is questionable.

waving of a blayde I was sure[1] . . . . . and therfore I drew out my rapier, and so . . . . which, as soon as he perseved, and saw that I was provided, he dissimuled the [matter and] told mee he came but to challenge mee, which, if I would answere, he would give . . . . to have . . . . . . . . But my good . . . . unlikely, and hee . . . . in the dead of . . . . . made a third . . . -ward in the morning, . . . . . to have found mee unarmed and in my bed. For, otherwise, hee might have sent or written any challenge, more beseeming a man of his sort. How I was urged to the former quarrell, it is very well knowen; being first stricken by his brother—whom for love and goodwill I followed into the Indies—afterwards sought out and challenged, when as I was stelling away to have gone into the service of the Low Countres; and after I had wounded my Lorde's brother in the felde, it is well known that I never followed the quarrell with mallice; but, fynding hym to feynt, I gave over to assault hyme and stayd with hyme above half an houre, and set hym upright and [tried ?] to comfort hyme in all I could untill, for very feare of cumpany, I was forst to depart. And yet I so

[1] Here, as it seems, the original was mutilated. It appears to have been a rough draft of the letter sent.

much respected the gentleman as I rather preferred his recovery then myne owne saufty. For I adventured to ryde into Holborne to send hyme a surgent, before I sought to save my self,—which course differeth much from this of that Lord, who, besedds the too former assalts, hath since lien in wayt for me in such sort and with such cumpany as I dare not pass towards Westminster to plead my pardon. And for acceptançe of any challenge, my Lord knewe I may not. For as I am not yet freed of the former, so shall I bee by this pardon bounde by sureties to good behaviour ever after; and the acceptance of a challenge is a willfull breach therof. I am therfore most humblie to beseech your Lordship to continew your favor toward mee, that I may injoy so much libertye to insure the benefit of her Majesties great grace without the overpressing and outrageous[1] [? hindrance of the bro]ther or other relations of the Lord BRUGH'S. I have . . . uppon you . . . . . being all suppprest . . . I shall ever remayn

"Your Lordship's, to be
[commanded as your] servant,

[1] Here the original, whence this transcript was made, was again defective.

[POSTSCRIPT.]

. . . : . my . . . . . therfore writ out this . . . . my own hand . . . . . my Lord of Buckhurst.[1]

Rare occurrence of dates in Ralegh's letters; and the occasional uncertainties thence arising.

That doubtful letters, and fragments of letters, such as these, should be without date is precisely what might be expected; but that scarcely a dozen of the one hundred and sixty-six well-authenticated RALEGH Letters hereinafter printed should contain an accurate or precise date is a fact that calls for some remark. The very few that bear the date of *year* are—I think almost uniformly—letters written, either wholly or in part, by an amanuensis. Sir WALTER'S own practice was to date his letters '*this Wednesday*' or '*this Friday*,' or, perhaps, 'this 6th of October,' and the like, but with entire disregard of the year. I have done what I could to supply the true dates—either from endorsements or from the subject-matter of the letters themselves; but I am well aware that the reader's indulgent view of the difficulties which attend upon conjectural dating will, in the course of this volume, be much needed on behalf of its Editor. I have, at all events, the satisfaction of reflecting that, in not a few instances, letters already known, but wrongly dated

[1] This letter is endorsed: "For Dr. Birch. Letters of Sir Walter Ralegh in the possession of Pomeroy Gilbert, Esq., Fort-Major of Plymouth, descendent of Sir Humphrey."

in preceding books—sometimes by a period of six or seven years—have here been rectified. In printing so many new letters, I cannot hope to have altogether escaped the making of some new blunders. In one or two instances, I have subsequently discovered my error, and have corrected it either by footnote or by marginal note in the *Life*. For any undetected errors of this kind I solicit the candid consideration of readers. Those most accustomed to difficult researches amongst musty old papers will, perhaps, be most charitable on such a point.

The Letters illustrative of the History of the Sherborne Manors, and of Ralegh's transactions with the Church of Sarum.

Of Letters XLVI., CXXVI., CXXX., and CXXXII., it is needful to observe that they stand much in need of fuller explanation and of more illustrative remark than it has been in my power to give. I long entertained a hope that in the Episcopal Registry at Salisbury, or among the rich muniments of the Dean and Chapter there, I should be enabled, and permitted, to find some other portions of the correspondence relating to the Sherborne manors. My failure to do so has not arisen from lack of effort,—or of journeying,—on my own part. At many of the Diocesan, Collegiate, and Capitular registries and muniment-rooms throughout England, there is now a most liberal recognition of the fairness of making some distinction between facilities for searches intended to further a merely historical or literary purpose,

and those appointed for searches of a more professional sort; such, for instance, as are connected either with matters of personal profit or with points of legal contention. At Winchester—to take but one example out of very many which are known to me by personal experience—a most generous view of such matters obtains. But at Salisbury—as also at Exeter—the direct opposite of liberality is the rule, and the rule is faithfully adhered to.

Fruitless searches for letters at Salisbury and at Sherborne.

I had also, in the course of my inquiries, found reason to think that certain other letters which are printed in this volume might have found very valuable and interesting illustration from documents which still, it is believed, exist at Sherborne Castle. But at Sherborne (as at Salisbury and at Exeter) my earnest efforts to obtain permission for access to them—of course under the reasonable restrictions which are usual and right in such researches by strangers—failed of their object. At Sherborne Castle, I fear, the renown of its Elizabethan owner is sometimes felt rather as an overhanging shadow, than as a matter of generous elation.

Generous facilities which have been given towards the collection of Ralegh Letters.

It is far less agreeable to put on record failure and denial in legitimate inquiries for purposes of research, than gratefully to acknowledge the liberal furtherance of them. Of that, these volumes have received not a little. Some of my many obligations

are recorded in the Preface to the *Life of Ralegh*. But I cannot commit this collection of his Letters to the indulgence of the reader without once again registering in this place my grateful and special thanks,—first, to the Marquess of SALISBURY, for his generous permission to draw so largely on the papers at Hatfield; and, next, to the Master of the Rolls, Lord ROMILLY; to the Deputy Keeper of Records, Mr. DUFFUS HARDY; and to his most able and zealous officers in the General Record Office, for the very liberal facilities which the Editor of these Letters—in common with other students of Records better able to turn them to public profit—has long enjoyed. The circumstance that the '*Calendars*' of the State Papers of Elizabeth's reign, and the series of fac-similes entitled '*National Manuscripts*,' have both been in active progress—at the Rolls House, and at Southampton—during much of the time in which my searches were carried on, inevitably made those searches occasionally obstructive to the due course of office business. And hence it is that many of the RALEGH Letters here printed are without precise references; the preparation of the new Calendars having required a re-numbering of the papers.[1] But what, to the searcher, might well have proved an unavoidable and, for the

[1] This circumstance will explain to the reader the occasional occurrence in this volume of the term 'Unarranged' or 'Unnumbered Papers' (as at pp. 21, 169, 174, 241, &c.), meaning papers which were in course of re-arrangement.

time, an insurmountable hindrance, has, by the kindness of the officers, been turned into an occasion of more than common help. To ALFRED KINGSTON, to WILLIAM NOEL SAINSBURY, and to WILLIAM BASEVI SAUNDERS, Esquires, this Collection of Letters, and its Editor, are thus under special obligation. I am also indebted to the kindness with which Mrs. EVERETT GREEN permitted me to make occasional use both of the MS. and of the printer's proofs of her excellent *Calendar of State Papers, for the years* 1591 *to* 1596, now in the press.

My best thanks are also due to the Reverend HENRY STUBBS, D.D., late Librarian to the Archbishop of CANTERBURY, for many facilities afforded to me at Lambeth.

In submitting this collection of Letters to public criticism, I am very conscious of some among its many shortcomings. A task of this sort is necessarily one which has to be spread over several years. Before an Editor reaches the last stage of the long road on which he has been journeying, he is pretty sure to find some omissions which ought to have been supplied at earlier stages, and something to have been said or done, in one way, —soon after the outset,—which he would fain have said or done in quite another way, when looking back from the final resting-place on the incidents of his task.

On that head, all I will venture to add is this one remark: If any reader who may observe or suspect omissions or errors, and may have both opportunity and inclination to indicate them, will do so,—with whatsoever of blame he may deem fairly attachable to the fault,—he will confer on the Editor a favour which will be gratefully received, and sedulously turned to the right account, whenever opportunity may offer.

### NOTE TO INTRODUCTION.

By the accident of a miscarriage of proofs in the Post Office, the three letters which have been already mentioned as addressed by RALEGH to the Senate of the University of Cambridge about Wine Licences were worked off, prior to correction of the press. These letters are here reprinted in the form in which they should have appeared at pp. 24, 27, and 28 of this Volume.

## LETTER IX.

1584.

TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 340.]

I COMEND me to you, beinge lothe to greyve or discontent you, whome I love and am willinge any waies I

LETTER IX.

1584. July 9.

To the Senate of the University of Cambridge. From the Court.

On the licensing of Vintners in Cambridge.

maye to pleasure. I have thoughte good to informe you of a late hard part and riotouse demeanor done by some of your Universitie, which I can as yet but take in contempte of her Majesties graunt to me, not dealinge further therby then lawfullie (as I am informed) I maye doe. Yf otherwise, the Conference offered by my Deputees to one BAXTER and others, your late dealers in that cause, for the spedie and quyett dissidinge the matter by your learned Councell and myne, shold have bene accepted. The abuse done was sutche, as yf I shall not understand of some reformacion or correction to be done to the Malefactors, wherby this bearer JOHN KEYMER, her Majesties Subjecte lawfullie lycenced by me to sell Wynes in your Town, doe quyetlye enjoye the same untill by lawe (that governeth us all) yt be otherwyse determyned, I will devyse some other course for reformacion herein. The barers haste awaye (to comfort his poore wife, who by violence offered was in case by sondrye soundes,[1] and passions, likelie to have died) was sutche, as tyme served me not to move my verye good Lord the Lord Treasurer, for his Honor's letter in reformacion hereof, which I dowted not to have had, but I do rest assured that yourselves will take suche directe and lawfull course herein, as neyther my selfe, nor yow, nor anye other that will comaund us, shall have occasion further herein to be trobled, which I hartelie wyshe: not desiringe so fullie and lawfullie to extend her Majesties graunt in your towne, as maye further greyve your Vynteners, the onlie styrrers herein, respectinge more their gayne then quyett government. I crave your spedie answere in wrightinge by this barer, for that the unlawfull and riotous parties must not rest

[1] *swoons.*

unpunyshed. And so I bidd you all hartelie farwell. From my lodging at the Cort, this ixth of Julie, 1584.

Your very assured loving Frinde,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the Worshipfull my loving Friends, Mr. Doctor* HOWLAND, *Vice Chauncelor of the Universitie of Cambridg, and others, the Maisters of the same.*

## LETTER XI.

### 1585.

### TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 341.]

MR. VYCE CHAUNCELOR,

LETTER XI.

1584-1585. Feb. 10.

To the Senate of the University of Cambridge. From Somerset House.

On the licensing of Vintners in Cambridge.

BEINGE (by informacion) perswaded, that your selfe, with the grave and well disposed of your Universitie, were so greved with the unseamelye owtrages latelie comytted by the yonge and unbridled hedds of the same, in contempte of the Quenes Majesties prerogatyve and graunt unto me, and to my discredytt, as suffycyent order by yow had ben taken for this bearer's quyett, which caused me to reste from requyringe reformacion therin at my verye good Lord Threasurer's handes, who (by me) as yet understandeth not of those ryotts; And I did forbare, contrarye to the advyse of my learned Councell, in procedinge to enquyer by lawe of the same ryotts, of good wyll I beare to your Universitye; And ment so to deale with yow for the other foure Tavernes, as sholde have suffycyentlie contented

yow. But my to[1] favorable dealinge with yow hathe geven suche encorage, as this daie, I am informed, yow have warned this barer to appeare before yow, whose wills therin I have willed him to performe. And I am further informed, yow mynd to disturbe hym ageyne from usinge his honeste and lawfull trade of Wyne-sellinge, authorysed therunto by the Quenes Majesties graunt, under the great Seale of Ingland. And althoughe I know yow not, yet your place sholde tell me, that your prosedinges wilbe with hym juste and lawfull, which onlye I desyer of yow. So yow shall pleasure yourselves, and contynewe my redynes to doe yow any good I maye. I hope, uppon your answere, I shall fynd thes Informacions to growe rather uppon jelosey, then juste matter. So I leave you to God. From the Cort at Somersett Howse, this 10th of February, 1584.[2]

Your very willing Frind,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To my loving ffrind Mr. Vycechancelor, and the reste of the Maysters of the Universitie of Cambridge.*

## LETTER XII.

### TO THE SAME.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 342.]

LETTER XII. 1584-1585. Feb. 20.

I CANNOT a litle marvaile att your peremtory and proud manner of delinge. I was content to use all manner of curtesy towards yow (in respect of my Lord Tresorer, my Honorable good Lorde), but I parceve, that my

[1] *too.* [2] Legal style.

To the Senate of the University of Cambridge. From the Court.

reasonable or rather to[1] submis deling hath bread in yow a proceding unsufferable. Yow have cummitted a poore man to the prison having don nothing but warranted by the great Seal of Ingland; your Seales supposing a priviledge by Charter. I doe not know that any man, or any men, or Sotiety, would take so mich uppon them, before triall made. But, as I reverence the place of whence[2] yow ar the governors, so I will not willingly take any wrong or disgrace from yow. And I am asured my Lord Tresorer, who may command mee mich, wilbe indifferent in this case. For the matter so much concerneth the validety of my patent elswher, as well as in your Uneversity, as I will try the uttermost of my right, as well for this one, which I was content to be satisfied withall, as for all the other foure. And so, having thought yow would have vouchsafed an awnswere of my last letters, I end.

On the same subject.

Court, this xx[t] of Febriary, 1584.[3]

Your Frind as yow shall geve cause,

W. RALEGH.

[1] *too.* [2] So in MS. [3] Legal style.

# LETTERS

OF

# SIR WALTER RALEGH.

*This man is fit to use in all assays,*
*Whether for arms and warlike amenance,*
*Or else for wise and civil governance.*
*For he is practised well in policy,*
*And thereto doth his courting most apply:*
*To learn the interdeal of Princes strange;*
*To mark the intent of Councils, and the change*
*Of States; and eke of private men somewhile,*
*Supplanted by fine-falsehood and fair guile.*
*Of all the which he gathereth what is fit*
*To enrich the storehouse of his powerful wit;*
*Which, through wise speaking and grave conference,*
*He daily ekes, and brings to excellence.*

SPENSER (Mother Hubbard's Tale).

# LETTERS OF
# SIR WALTER RALEGH.

## 1581.

### PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS I. TO V.—*RALEGH'S MILITARY SERVICE IN IRELAND.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS OF 1581.

IT has been mentioned in the *Life* [Chap. ii. Vol. I. p. 45] that the documents hitherto discovered—in the Rolls House and elsewhere—do not afford the means of dating, with certainty, the commencement of Ralegh's service in Ireland. Letter I., when conjoined with some accounts relating to military pay,—preserved, like it, in the Irish series of State Papers now collected at the Rolls House; and entitled '*Two Reckonings of Captain Walter Rawley*,'—ascertains the commencement of the particular service therein referred to. But neither the letter nor the pay-account gives conclusive testimony that the campaign of 1580 was the *first* Irish campaign in which the writer and accountant served. It is quite probable that it was so; but a probability only.

*Ireland:* Elizabeth, vol. xcix. § 84 (Rolls House).

The 'Reckonings' relate to two distinct periods of service in the field. The first of them begins with the 13th July, 1580, and ends on the 30th of the following September. The second begins with the 1st of April, 1582, and ends, in like manner, with the 30th of the following September. But, for reasons which have been adduced in the *Life* [Chap. ii. as above], the account of 1582 does not, of itself, afford evidence

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS OF 1581.

that Ralegh was actually present with the army in Ireland during any part of that year.

Letter III. is especially remarkable for the contrast it draws between the methods severally adopted for the suppression of Irish insurrections by Sir Humphrey Gilbert and by the Earl of Ormond. The writer had an intimate knowledge of both commanders, and it is obvious, on the face of the documents, that his comparison of their exploits is coloured by personal feeling. The severe and sweeping censure of Ormond bears the aspect of some animosity to the man, hardly less conspicuously than the praises of Gilbert bear that of partial affection to the near relative and the early friend.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert's Irish service, referred to in Ralegh's letter, was performed in 1569. The spirit of the performance was described by Sir Humphrey himself, in a letter to Sir Henry Sydney, and in words as brief as they are expressive:—"My manner of dealing was to show them all that they had more need of Her Majesty, than she of their service; neither yet that we were afraid of any number of them; our quarrel being so good. I slew all those from time to time that did belong to, feed, accompany, or maintain, any outlaws or traitors; and *after my first summoning of a castle or fort, if they would not presently yield it, I would not afterwards take it of their gift, but won it perforce,—how many lives soever it cost; putting man, woman, and child of them to the sword.*" It would have been strange, indeed, if Ormond, himself an Irishman, had exercised his command in Munster with like severity. But it is very notable that Sir Henry Sydney's immediate praise of Gilbert's acts and policy, as expressed in the despatches of the day, is quite as enthusiastic as Ralegh's was, in the retrospect, eleven years afterwards. For Sir Humphrey Gilbert, wrote Sir Henry Sydney to Burghley, "I cannot say enough. The highways are now made free, where no man might travel unspoiled. . . . Yet this is not the most, nor the best he hath done; for *the estimation that he hath won to the name*

Sydney to Burghley, 4 Jan. 1570.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS OF 1581.

*of Englishman there, before almost not known, exceedeth all the rest.*" That both Henry Sydney and Humphrey Gilbert possessed many noble qualities, and belong to the roll of the true Worthies of England, is among the uncontested facts of our history; but it needs to be brought to mind in dealing with documents such as those now under view.

The paper submitted by Ralegh to the Queen,—to which Lord Deputy Grey refers in his marginal note to Letter IV. as "that platt which by Mr. Fent I have advertizement of, for the fynding of a certayne garrison gratis to Her Majestie,"—is not now to be found in the Irish Correspondence. But there is, in that series, a remarkable paper of later date (25 October, 1582), written partly in the hand of Lord Burghley, and partly in Ralegh's hand, and thus entitled (by Burghley):—*The Opinion of Mr. Rawley, upon motions made to hym for the meanes of subduyng the Rebellion in Monster.* This document is obviously the minutes of a conference between the Lord Treasurer and the soldier from Ireland; Burghley holding the pen, and then handing his record to Ralegh, for revisal, before submitting it to the Queen. The point on which Ralegh lays the main stress of his argument is the necessity of winning over some of the many minor Irish chieftains, who were known to have followed the Earl of Desmond into rebellion less from love than from fear. Some of these, he tells the Queen and her councillors, were men really well-affected to her rule, and men who had formerly served under English commanders; but who were now mainly influenced by two powerful impressions: they resented certain acts of violence committed by the English soldiery; and they believed that ultimately the Queen would both pardon the Earl of Desmond and restore him to his possessions and dignities. In that case, the Earl's enmity would be more formidable to them than the enmity of the English.

"Mr. Ralegh thinketh," writes Lord Burghley, "that the Queens Majesties forces alone, without an excessive charge by

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS OF 1581.

an army that may prepare to lay garrisons in every country, will not subdue the rebellion;"—for the enemy "shall be so relieved in every country where the English soldier cannot follow him, as, by fleeing from country to country, he will hold up his heart a long time. Therefore he thinketh it needful to have the help and concurrency of divers lords of particular countries." And then Ralegh went on to show by what means many such lords might easily be won over. It is probable that these counsels were substantially the same with those for which Ralegh had obtained the Queen's ear some months earlier, to the great displeasure of the Lord Deputy, who, in the preceding January, had thus expressed his dissatisfaction to Lord Burghley: "Having lately received advertisement of a plott delivered by Captain Rawley unto Her Majestye for the lessening of her charges here in the province of Mounster, and the disposing of the garrisons according to the same; the matter at the first indeed offering a very plausible shewe of thrifte and commoditie might easily occasion Her Majestie to thinck that I have not so carefully as behoved looked into the state of that cause, and the search of Her Majesties proffitt. Wherefore, having with some of the best advised of the Councill here, entered into consideration thereof, and perceiving many inconveniences, and some impossibilities, in the accompt thereof, we have .... layd downe our judgments and opinions thereof; which, when it shall have come under your Lordship's deeper consultation, I doubt not but you will soone discerne a difference between the judgments of those which with grownded experience and approved reason looke into the condicion of things, and those which upon no grownd but seeming fancies, and affecting creditt with proffitt, frame 'Plotts' upon impossibillities, for others to execute."

*Ireland*: Elizabeth, vol. lxxxviii. § 12.

To Walsingham, Lord Grey wrote, nearly at the same time, a letter of most passionate complaint concerning alleged misrepresentations made at Court of his government and policy. In this letter he speaks of his traducer under the cypher '324,' which in the *Calendar* of the Irish Papers is interpreted

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS OF 1581.

as designating Lord Burghley himself. Some of the allusions, however, appear to point to Ralegh, rather than to the Lord Treasurer. But Burghley may have been won over to the adoption and endorsement of Ralegh's views. At the end of March, Walsingham notified to the Deputy the Queen's pleasure that Captain Ralegh should succeed to the command of 'Appesley's band.' [See Vol. I. p. 46.] Grey replies: "As for Captain Rawley's assignment to the charge of Apsleie's band, which in your letter of the 2nd of April you write to be signified unto me by a letter from Her Majestie, I have no letter which specifieth any such thing to me; and, for myne own part, I must bee playne: I nether like his carriage nor his company; and therefore, other then by direccion and commandment, and what his right can require, he is not to expect at my hands." That the Council Book of this period gives no sanction to the statement (hitherto, so uniformly made by Ralegh's biographers) that the disputes between the Lord Deputy and the refractory captain of cavalry came to a hearing at the Council table, before the Queen herself, I have shown already. But, be that as it may, the dates which have now been established prove conclusively that no such hearing can possibly have been the occasion on which Ralegh first attracted the Queen's favourable notice.

*Ireland:* Elizabeth, vol. xcii. § 10 (Rolls House).

To the results and the incidents, however, of this great rebellion in Ireland it is plain that Sir Walter Ralegh owed, alike, the beginnings of his military fame; his first initiation into the mysteries of statecraft; and the opening (whatever its precise character) which enabled the accomplished soldier and the fast-maturing statesman to show that he possessed also the glittering qualities of the thriving courtier. Irish service brought him, before he was thirty, into the Queen's closet, as well as into the Lord Treasurer's cabinet. Presently, it was to make him a great and an enterprising landowner. Already, it had laid the foundation of a friendship which nursed into vigorous growth those seeds of poetry which Nature had sown.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS OF 1581.

That one friendship—and its consequences—would have sufficed to hand down Ralegh's name, with Spenser's, had he explored no Guiana; led no fleet at Cadiz; written no *History of the World;* laid the foundation of no colonies in America.

The rebellion began in the autumn of 1579;—at a time when Ralegh's mind was still strongly bent on plans of maritime discovery, notwithstanding the check which had just been given by the Lords of the Council to his purposed American voyage.* That interruption occurred in June. On the 19th of July, the Earl of Desmond wrote to the Lords Justices that he was "ready to venture his life in Her Majesty's quarrel." On the 9th of August, Edward Whyte wrote to Walsingham (from Limerick) that the Geraldines were in arms, and that the "fire was like to spread into every corner of the realm." It did not burn quite so fiercely as that. But it spread far; and the devastation it made was such as, happily, it is hard for the mind to realize now-a-days. Ralegh touches (in Letter III.) on one of the main difficulties which protracted its extinction. "Geraldines," he says, "will die a thousand deaths; enter into a million mischiefs; seek succour of all nations, rather than be subdued by a Butler." And the feud between Desmonds and Ormonds was but one feud of a hundred. But if they could not be put down, it was, at length, found possible to keep them, for a while, in check.

It was not until the autumn of 1583 was far advanced that the Queen could congratulate herself on the deliverance of Munster from rebellion. The report which was then read to her at Oatlands had been drawn up by one of Ralegh's comrades—Edward Barkley—in the 1581 campaign of Cork described in Letter IV.; and it was the Earl of Ormond—in that letter so sharply censured—who had the satisfaction of receiving from the Privy Council in England the royal thanks.

* Vol. I. p. 37.

*Ireland:* Elizabeth, vol. lxvii. § 40 (Rolls House).

*Privy Council to the Earl of Ormond.—Ireland:* Elizabeth, vol. civ. § 88.

I.

## TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original. *Irish Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 73 (Rolls House). In the hand of an amanuensis, except as to two words which are interlineated in autograph. Signed.

LETTER I.

1580-1581. Feb. 22.

To Lord Burghley. From Cork.

Detention at the Isle of Wight.—Arrival in Ireland.—Pay and Rations of his Company.

MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR,

TO UNDERSTAND that uppon the receaving of my footeband of one hondrethe men, when I departed from London towards this land, there was then delivered into my hands (besides one hundreth powndes in imprest which is defalked uppon my enterteynment heere,) so muche mony as amownted to six dayes wages for my self, my levetennent, officers, and soldiers, at accustomed rates, viz. iiij$^{s}$ *per diem* for my self, ij$^{s}$ *per diem* for my levetennente, xiiij$^{d}$ a peece for iiij officers, and viij$^{d}$ a peece for every soldier; after th' expiracion of which six dayes (by order from Your Honor and the rest of my lords of Her Maiesties Pryvy Counsell,) wee entered into the Isle of Wighte where wee contynued xv dayes, and ther beinge imbarked in Her Maiesties shippes, there was xvii dayes more before wee arryved heere, duringe all which tyme of xxxij dayes, in the whole, wee receaved only vittells after the rate of vi$^{d}$ sterlinge *per diem* for eache one, so that duringe those xxxij dayes there growethe due to every of my company ij$^{d}$ sterlinge *per diem* as a remaynder of theire wages at viij$^{d}$ sterling *per diem;* and also to my selfe, my levetennente and officers, our whole enterteynment for the lyke tyme at

LETTER I.

1580-1581. Feb. 22.

Service in Ireland.

the rates abovesaid. So yt is, my good and honorable Lorde, that at the importunate suyte and exclamacion of my company I have bin enforced to paye and satisfye every of them of that remaynder, and seekinge to have the same to be allowed mee agayne heere, I am therfore referred to Your Honor's order and the residue of my Lords of Her Maiesties Pryvy Councell in England; being annswered by Her Highnes' offycers heere that wee are neyther to be entered into paye, nor no other manner of waye to be allowed heere, but from the daye of our arryvall in this land. In consideration whereof I am a moste humble sutor to Your Honor and the residue of my said Lords for allowance of that mony, as hathe bin heretofore, by Your Lordship's good meanes, in the like case allowed to Sir WILLIAM MORGAN, and that the same may be payd to the gentleman which shall deliver this letter to Your Honor, whom I have desired to attend Your Lordship for that purpose, and who shall present unto You as well a perfect accompte thereof, as also a suffycient certifycate or testemony of the tyme of our contynuaunce in the Wighte, and of the daye of our arryvall heere. I moste humblie desire Your honor to farther this my request as spedely as you conveniently maye, because I have appointed the mony to be imployed in England abowte the providinge of sutche wants as bothe my selfe and company doe greately stand in neede of. Thus I comyt Your Lordship to God; my poore selfe remayninge alwayes a Your Honor's service and comaundment. Corke, this 22 of February, 1580 [*legal style*].

Your Lordship's most humble to comaunde,

W. RAULEY.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable and my very good Lord, the Lord* BURGHLEY, *Lord Highe Thresourer of England.*

## II.

## TO SECRETARY SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

From the Original. *Irish Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 74 **(Rolls House).** Holograph.

LETTER II.

1580-1581. Feb. 23.

To Sir F. Walsingham. From Cork.

Proceedings of some covert fosterers of the Rebellion.—His escape from an ambush in Barry's country.—Character of the soldiery in Munster.

I RECEVED of late a letter from Your Honor wherein I finde Your Honor's disposicion and oppinion more favorable then I can any way deserve. Notwithstandinge I hope Your Honor shall finde that my forwardnes to advance Her Maiesties service shall not be less accordinge to my smale strenght. Whereas of late a cumpany of yonge cumpanions linket together in rebellion who because they can no longer covertly assiste the proclaymed traytors do at lenght manifeste their good mindes to Her Hightnes and the Inglyshe nacion,—as DAVY BARREY, sonn and heir of Lorde BARREY, now in the castle of Develin; MORRICE ROCHE, eldest sonn to the Lorde ROCHE; FINNIN MACARTEY, PATRICK CONNDON, and divers others,—my Lorde Generall is now cum hither who, wee hope, ether by force or pollecy will sufficiently hampre them that ar farr of greater strenght then the Earle of DESMOND and JOHNE.[1] In my returne from Develin I made a hard escape from the Seneshall[2] in BARRE'S countre (wher he is allways fostered) with xiiij horsmen and threescore footmen.

I was three horsmen, and soun set on horsbake to[3] Irishe footmen. I coveted to recover a litle old castle, and

[1] Sir John Fitzgerald, usually called 'John of Desmond.' He was brother of Gerald, 16th Earl of Desmond.

[2] John Fitzedmund Fitzgerald, 'Seneschal of Imokilly.'

[3] *two.*

LETTER II.
1580-1581. Feb. 23.

State of the Province of Munster.

in that resun I left three men and three horses. The manner of myne own behavior I leve to the report of others, but the escape was strange to all men. The castle was a longe mile of,[1] from the place wher he first sett on us. Ther is great need of a supply in Munstre, for the bandes ar all miche decayed. The bands of TANNER and BARNISHE were so ordered in the cashiringe that no man was the better. For the officers had the furniture and the soldiers ran away. Beside, the men ar suche poore and misserable cretures as ther captaynes dare not lead them to serve. If Your Honors beheld them when they arive here, You would think them far unfitt to fight for Her Maiesties crown; and like Your Honor ther is no fitt place to lande them that ther captaynes may receve them furnished but Corke, from whence they may most conveniently be delivered over. Thus, besechinge You to continew Youre favorable oppinion of mee, I humblie take my leve, restinge allways most redy to do you all honor and service. From Corke, xxiij of February, 1581[2] [?]

Your honor's most humble to cummande,

W. RAULEY.

Addressed:

*To the honorable Sir* FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, *Knighte, Principal Secretory to Her Highnes, geve thes.*

Endorsed: "23 *February*, 1580. *From Mr. Walter Rawley.*"

[1] *off.*

[2] The last figure in this date is scarcely legible. The endorsement, it will be observed, gives, according to the legal style, '1580.'

## III.

## TO SECRETARY SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

From the Original. *Irish Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. lxxx. § 82 (Rolls House). Holograph.

LETTER III.

1580-1581. Feb. 25.

To Sir F. Walsingham. From Cork.

Causes of the delay in the seizure of Barry's Court.—Mismanagement of the War in Munster; and contrast offered thereby to the government of Sir H. Gilbert.

THE day after the writinge of my letter to your Honor by Levetenant BIGGES, news came that DAVY BARREY had broken and burnt all his castles and entred publikly into the action of rebellion. It plesed my Lorde Deputy,[1] att my beinge at Develin (forseinge wherunto this Trator was bent) to bestow on mee the kepinge of on of his castles called Barre Court and the Iland adjoyninge therunto; which hows he gave mee in charge to keap to her Majesties use, being a great strenght to the countre and a safty for all passingers betwen Corke and Youghall. Notwithstandinge, becaus my Lord Generall[2] was presently to cum up and BARREY ready to go out (having before undreground broken the foundacions of the rest of his castles) I made stay to take this Barrey Court, as well for that my Lord Generall should not alledge that I crost hyme in any service or did anythinge with in his goverment without his privitey, as also because it should not be sayd that the takinge therof was the hasteninge of BARRE'S rebellion. But when my Lord came and BARREY had burnt all the rest, the Lord Generall, ether meninge to kepe it for hyme selfe—as I think all is to litle for hyme—or els unwillinge any Inglishman should have any thing, stayd

[1] Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton.

[2] Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond; Governor of Munster and General of the Forces.

LETTER III.
1580-1581. Feb. 25.
Complaints of the conduct of the War in Munster.

the taking therof so longe, mening to put a gard of his own in it, as it is, withe the rest, defaced and spoled. I pray God Her Majesty do not finde, that—what with the defence of his own countre assalted on all sides, what with the beringe and forberinge of his kindred, as all thes traytors of this new rebellion ar his own cussen-germayns, what by reason of the incomperable hatred betwen hyme and the GARAUTINES,[1] who will rather dy a thowsand deathes, entre into a million of mischeifes and seek soccor of all nacions, rather than they will ever be subdued by a BUTLER—that aftre Her Majesty hathe spent a hundred thowsand pound more she shall at last be driven by to[2] dere experience to send an Inglishe Presedent to follow thes mallicious traytors with fier and sword, nether respectinge the aliance nor the nacion. Would God your Honor and Her Majesty, as well as my poore selfe, undrestoode how pitifully the service here goethe forward! Considering that this man, havinge now byn Lord Generall of Munstre now about too yeares, theire ar at this instant a thowsand traytors more then ther were the first day. Would God the service of Sir HUMFRY GILBERT might be rightly lokt into; who, with the third part of the garreson now in Irland, ended a rebellion not miche inferior to this, in to[3] monethes! Or would God his own behavior were suche in peace as it did not make his good service forgotten and hold hyme from the preferment he is worthy of! I take God to wittenes I speake it not for affection but to discharge my duty to Her Majesty; for I never hard nor rede of any man more fered then he is amonge the Irishe nacion. And I do assuredly know that the best about the Earle of DESMOND, ye! and all the unbridled traytors of thes partes, would cum in

[1] Geraldines. [2] *too.* [3] *two.*

LETTER III.

1580-1581. Feb. 25.

hyre, and yeld them selves to the Queen's mercy, were it but known that he were cum amonge them. The end shall prove this to be trew.

And for myne own part God is my judge it grevethe mee to receve her Majesty's pay (although God knowes it be but a poore entreteynment) to see her so miche abused; and I will rather begg then live here to indure it. I would most willingly geve over my charge, and did offre it to the Lord Generall, God is my judge, if I could, and serve her Majesty privatly with a dussen or ten horse duringe the wares. I beseiche your Honor to take my bold writing in good part, protesting befor Hyme that knowethe the thoughtes of all hartes, that I writ nothing but moved therunto for the love I bere to her Highnes and for the furtherance of her service. And further I humblie crave at your Honors handes that you will reserve my letters to yourselfe, and if your Honor will promise mee so miche and give mee leve, I will from tyme to tyme advertise your Honor trewly of this estat. Myself being on[1] that your Honor shall allways finde most ready to ventur my life to do yow all honor and service during my life. I beseich your Honor that I may by your means injoy the keping of this Barrey Court and the Iland; or that it will please your Honor but to writ to my Lorde Deputy that he will confirm it unto mee, whom I find most willing to do mee any good, being my honerable, good Lorde. This[2] humblie I take my leve, reposing myselfe and my estat uppon your Honors favor.

[1] *one.*

Requests the charge of Barry's Court.

[2] *Thus.*

From Cork, the 25th of February.

Your Honor's most humble ever to command,

W. RAULEY.

Addressed:

*To the honorable Sir* FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, *Knight, the Principall Secritory to Her Highnes.*

## IV.

## TO ARTHUR, LORD GREY OF WILTON, LORD DEPUTY OF IRELAND.

From an official and annotated Copy, sent by the Lord Deputy to Sir Francis Walsingham. *Irish Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. lxxxiii. § 16 [1] (Rolls House).

LETTER IV.

1581. May 1.

To Arthur, Lord Grey, Deputy of Ireland. From Cork.

State of the Army in Munster.—Intrigues of the rebels.—Fortification of Barry's Court and the Island.

FERING that it shoulde seme strainge unto your Lordshipe the litle service don in thes partes, I presume to wryte unto your honor in myne owne excuse, lest your Lordshipe should growe in ill opinion of us that ar and have byne in the presenc of the General to be directed. The bandes of Sir GEORG BOWSER, EDWARD BARKLEY, Captayne DOWDALL, and of my self, have bine ever since the seconde weeke of Lent remayning in Corke; and both the great wood of Conoloathe, Harlo, Clenlis, and all the countye of Lymbricke, and the counties betwene the Dingle and Kilkeny, left without any companies ether to defend itself or anoy the enemy. Since which tyme wee have made to jurneys: the one towards Kilkeny to give convoye to my Lorde and attend his returne, and the other into Conolothe, by which jurnes (the one being in horible wether, and the other utterly botles, being don without draught or espiall, and beside inforst to walke such unreasonable marches as, wher wee dispatched a churell of the traytors, wee lamed, lost, or left behynde unserviceable, a soldier or two of our owne) the poore bands have curste the change they made in levyng to follow your Honor, as they have tould the Lord Generall many tymes. And this fyrst of May wee ar going another posting convoy towards Kilkeny. But to culler the matter, wee shall march some two dayes out of our way to seeke wee know not whome.

Further complaints of the management of the War.

LETTER IV.
1581. May 1.

The store of Corke, except it be a smale quantitie of wheat and butter, is all spent within the walles, and nowe it wilbe aleged that wee cannot serve for want of vittles, or else because the bandes ar not supplied; although wee were nevere less than fore hundred stronge, and yet both of Sir GEORGE BOWCER'S and Captain BARKLE'S [companies][1] left at Kilmalloch and Asketon. Wee have spent thes two monethes of the spring in parles with BARREY ROWE, the Countes of DESMOND, and FINNIN MACARTEY; and wee think it willbe two moneth more er he[2] be resolved whether thes oughtt to be followed or no, and yet theris no day passeth without some trayterous villanies by the BARRES committed. The Countes of DESMONDE is retourned, and brought so many followers with her hither to carrye provision with her as the Earle, for his parte, shall be the better able to keepe the feild all this sommer; and at her going away none of her trayne ether sercht or lokt over. BARREY ROWE is protected. The Lady BARREY having gathered her goodes into Corke; and fering that by the atteyndure of her husband those wilbe found for the Queene, her yonge sonne—viz. BARRIE ROE, that five dayes before fell on the garrisons of Youghall—is brought in to serve that turne to carye the goodes into O SYLLEVANSES countrey, or els wher, for the more saftie; and besides this man shall keep some store of cattell and such impotent people as cannot follow DAVEY BARREY in the feild with many other profits ether for the Queen or for the knaves. I thinke your Honor hard of the losse of the warde of Asketon.* O KENIS and his sonn wer both slayne by JHON of DESMOND,—gentelmen of MAC DONOTH'S countrey and very good subiects. Barre's Cowrte and the Iland—which your Honor willed

* "xi of them were distressed that fondly aventured owte to far for sum cowes."—*Marginal note on this passage by the Lord Deputy.*

[1] This or some equivalent word is here plainly wanting. [2] Ormond.

LETTER IV.
1581. May 1.

me to keepe — the on[1] hath sinc bin many tymes defaced, and the other spoylde and pred.[2] From this iland the traytors can never wante nether wine nor salte, or iron, or any other necessary provision, or if neede bee advertisement from Spayne or elswher; being common for any man to lande on. Notwithstanding, it is left naked and the castle broken that stood in the entranc therof for defenc. I have, by great perswacion of the Commissioners, gott leve to edifie the same, and leve a ward therin; and if it shall please your Honor to thinke mee woorthie the keeping and custodie therof I will at myne owne coast buyld it up agayne and defend it for her Maiestie. I would the rather bee an humble and ernest suter to your Honor for it in that I heire the Lord Generall purposeth, when I have taken the toyle in making it defencible and bin at the charg, to turne me over for my charges to the Queene and dispose of the iland to some other. I hope your Honor will stand my good lord therin. If it please your Honor to give commission ther may bee an other hundreth soldier layd uppon the cuntre heire aboute.* I hope it willbe a most honorable matter for your Lordshipe, most acceptable to her Maiestie, and profitable for the cuntre; and the ryght meane to banish all idle and frutles galliglas and kerne, the ministers of all miseryes. Thus, most humblie beseeching your Honor not to condemne any of us that are willing to deserve your Lordshipps good favor, I humblie take my leve. From Corke, the fyrst of May.

[3] Copie of . . . . [Captain Rauley's] letter (*the name being in cypher*).

Endorsed:
"1 May, 1581. *Copie of a letter to the Lord Deputy, from Corke.*"

* "This is the beeginnyng of that platt which, by Mr. Fent, I have advertizement of, for the fynding of a certayne garrison gratis to Her Majestie." —*Marginal note on this passage by the Lord Deputy.*

[1] *one.* [2] *preyed?*

[3] This title occupies the usual place of the subscription and signature.

## V.

## TO ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

From the Original. MS. Harl. 6993, f. 5 (British Museum).

LETTER V.

1581. Aug. 25.

'To the Earl of Leicester. From Lismore.

Professions of attachment.—Dissatisfaction with the Irish service.—Recommends to the Earl John Fitz-Edmund of Cloyne.

I MAY not forgett continually to put your Honor in mind of my affection unto your Lordshipe, havinge to the worlde bothe professed and protested the same. Your Honor, havinge no use of such poore followers, hathe utterly forgotten mee. Notwithstandinge, if your Lordshipe shall please to thinke mee your's, as I am, I wilbe found as redy, and dare do as miche in your service, as any man you may cummande; and do, nether, so miche dispaire of my self but that I may be somway able to performe as miche.

I have spent some time here under the Deputy, in suche poore place and charge, as, were it not for that I knew him to be on [1] of yours, I would disdayn it as miche as to keap sheepe. I will not troble your Honor with the bussiness of this loste lande; for that Sir WARRAM SENTLEGER [2] can best of any man deliver unto your

[1] *one.*

[2] Sir Warham St. Leger, an eminent soldier, passed a considerable portion of his life in the Irish wars, and in them he ended it, almost nineteen years after the date of this letter. The Commissioners of Munster, when narrating to the Lords Justices of Ireland certain events which occurred in their province during Tyrone's rebellion in 1599-1600, thus describe Sir Warham's martial death: After reciting Tyrone's march "out of Barry's country" into that part of Munster of which Sir Warham had the immediate charge, they say that he and Sir Henry Power rode forth "to se if they might meete some of the cumpanies straglinge from the rest," and at length "discreed a cornett of horse, and drew towards them. And knowing the same to be Macgowire, they made a charge upon him and his horsmen. Sir Warham encountered Macgowire, and with his pistole shott towe bullets into his brest. He with his stafe strake Sir

LETTER V.
1581. Aug. 25.

Lordshipe the good, the badd, the mischeifs, the meanes to amend, and all in all of this common welthe, or rather common woo. He hopethe to finde your Honor his assured good Lorde, and your Honor may most assuredly cummande him. He is lovingly inclyned toward your Honor. And your Lordshipe shall win by your favor towards hyme a wise, faythfull, and valient gentleman, whos worde and deede your Honor shall ever find to be on[1].

Thus, having no other matter, but only to desire the continuance of your Honor's favor, I humblie take my leve. From the Camp of Leismore, in Irland, August 25[2] [1581].

Your Honor's faithful and obedient,

W. RAULEY.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I am bold, being bound by very conscience, to cummend unto your Honor's consideration the pitiful estate of JOHN FITTS-EDMONDS, of Cloyne,[3] a gentleman, and the only man untucht and proved tru to the Queen, bothe in this and the last Rebellion. Sir Warram can declare his service, what he is, and what he deservethe.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable and my very good Lorde the Erle of* LEYCESTER, *of Her Majesties most honorable Pryvey Counsell.*

Endorsed: "26° *August*, 1581. *W. Rawley.*"

Warhame into the braine, of which blowe within four daies he died; and Macgowire was not far gon but he fell from his horse dead." — *Letter to Lords Justices*, &c. in MS. Tenison, dcxv., fol. 10. (Lambeth Palace.)

[1] *one.* [2] Ralegh had first written '26,' and then alters to '25.'

[3] John Fitzedmund Fitzgerald, a loyal Geraldine, whose name will recur; and who is to be distinguished from his Geraldine namesake, the insurgent Seneschal of Imokilly.

1583.

## VI.

## TO SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

From a transcript made, for Dr. THOMAS BIRCH, from the original letter, then in the possession of Major POMEROY GILBERT, of Plymouth. MS. Addit. 4231, f. 85 (**British Museum**).

LETTER VI.

1582-1583. March 17.

To Sir H. Gilbert. From Richmond. With a token from the Queen, and good wishes for Sir Humphrey's Voyage.

BROTHER,

I HAVE sent you a token from her Majesty, an ancor guided by a lady, as you see; and farther, her Highness willed me to sende you worde that she wished you as great good-hap and safty to your ship, as if her sealf were ther in parson; desiring you to have care of your sealf, as of that which she tendereth; and therfore, for her sake, you must provide for hit accordingly.

Farther, she commandeth that you leve your picture with me. For the rest, I leve till our meeting, or to the report of this berer, who would needs be the messengre of this good newse. So I committ you to the will and protection of God, who send us such life or death, as he shall please, or hath appointed.

Richmonde, this Friday morning [March 17, 1582-3].

Your treu brother,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To my brother, Sir* HUMFRY GILBERT, *Knight.*

Endorsed: "*Reseved the 18th of Marche,* 1582 [*legal style*].

## VII.

### TO THOMAS EGERTON, SOLICITOR-GENERAL;

(*Afterwards Viscount Brackley and Lord High Chancellor.*)

As printed from the Original, in the Collection of the EARL of ELLESMERE, by Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER; *Egerton Papers*, p. 94 (**Camden Society's Series**).

LETTER VII.

1583. April 10.

To the Solicitor-General Egerton. From the Court.

The Queen's grant of the leases of Stolney and Newland, and Ralegh's assignment of them.

MR. SOLYCYTER,

YT hathe pleased her Maiestie to bestowe the leases of Stolney and Newlande, lately graunted unto her from Al-Solne Colledge in Oxon, upon me, or any other that I shall agree withall. And for that of late I have bargande with WILLIAM TOUSE and CLEMENTE STUPNEY for the lease of Stolney, I ame to request you that the assignement maye passe by your good helpe from her Maiestie to them, they payenge all fees and chardges thereto belonging. And soe, with hartie thanks for many other courtesyes, I byd you farewell. From the Courte, the x$^{th}$ of Aprille, 1583.

Your very lovinge friende to command,

W. RAULEY.

Addressed:

*To my Worshipfull frende, Mr.* EGERTON, *Esquire, Solycyter to her Highnes.*

## VIII.

## TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers?[1] (Rolls House.)

LETTER VIII.

1583. May 12.

To Lord Burghley. From the Court at Greenwich.

Intercession with the Queen on behalf of Lord Oxford.

THE evening after receipte of Your Lordship's letter, I spake with Hér Majestie; and ministering some occasion touchinge the Earle of OXFORD, I told Her Majestie how grievously Your Lordship received Her late discomfortable aunswere. Her Majestie, as Your Lordship had written,—I know not by whom lately and strangely perswaded,—purposed to hàve new repartition betweene the Lords HOWARD, ARUNDEL, and others, and the Earle; and saide it was a matter not slightly to be passed over. I aunswered that, being assured Her Majestie would never permit anything to be prosecuted to the Earle's danger—if any such possibilitie weare—and therefore it weare to small purpose, after so long absence and so many disgraces, to call his honor and name agayne into question, wherby he might appeare to be less fitt either for her favor or presence. In conclusion, Her Majestie confessed that she meant it only therbye to give the Earle warninge, and that (as it seemed to me) being acquainted with his offences her grace might seem the more, in remitting the revenge or punishment of the same.

[1] This letter was transcribed from the Original; but the reference number, if any, was accidentally omitted. It is one of those which Strype has printed in his *Annals* (iv. 590); but with so many inaccuracies, that it would seem doubtful if he had seen the original.

LETTER VIII.

1583. May 12.

I delivered Her Your Lordship's letter.

What I said further, how honorable and profittabell it weare for Her Majestie to have regard to Your Lordship's healthe and quiett, I leve to the witnesse of God, and good reporte of Her Highnesse. And the more to witnesse how desirous I am of Your Lordship's favor and good opinion, I am contente, for your sake, to laye the sarpente before the fire, as miche as in me lieth, that having recovered strengthe myself may be moste in danger of his poyson and stinge.[1] For answere, Her Majestie would give me none other, but that she woulde satisfye Your Lordshipp, of whom she ever had, and would ever have, special regard. Thus beinge unfeignedly willinge to deserve Your Lordship's good favor, I humblie take my leve. From Grenewiche this present Friday, May 12, 1583.

Your Lordship's most willinge to be cummanded,

W. RAULEY.

[1] The allusion here would seem to point to the ill-will which is known to have been borne towards Ralegh by the Earl of Oxford, from the time of Ralegh's first appearance at Court. Many instances of Oxford's contemptuous treatment of the new aspirant for royal favour are mentioned by the gossips of the day. When Ralegh (after his imprisonment and temporary exile from Court) went first to Guiana, Lord Oxford was selected as the administrator, in Sir Walter's absence, of much of the business of the Stannaries.

## PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS IX. XI. XII. AND XVIII.—*RALEGH'S GRANT FOR THE LICENSING OF VINTNERS THROUGHOUT ENGLAND.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS OF 1584-1585.

THE Letters Patent by which Sir Walter Ralegh first obtained the "Farm of Wines" bear date the 4th of May, in the 25th of Elizabeth,—1583. The licensing system appears to have grown—indirectly—out of the Act of 7th Edward VI. c. 5, entitled *An Act to avoyde the greate price and excesse of Wynes.* Under the powers of Ralegh's Patent, every vintner licensed to retail wines was bound to pay one pound annually, for his licence, to the patentee during life.

Patent Roll, 25 Eliz. pt. ix.

The controversy between Ralegh and his deputy-licenser, Richard Browne (noticed in chap. iv. of the preceding volume, pp. 65, 66), led ultimately to the revocation of the Patent of 1583, and the grant of a new one, bearing date 9th of August, in the 30th of Elizabeth,—1588. This grant is for a term of thirty-one years, and extends to "all places within this kingdom." It also gave to Ralegh a moiety of all penalties accruing to the Crown under the provisions of the Statute of Edward for regulating the prices of wines sold by retail. That Statute, however, contains an express proviso for the privileges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. And the contention of Cambridge in 1584 had been entirely successful.

Ibid. 30 Eliz. pt. vi.

When, for a time, the function of licensing was, in the next reign, transferred—as far as respects corporate towns—to the local authorities, the vintners were made to pay licence duties after a much higher scale than that which had obtained under

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS OF 1584-1585.

Ralegh. "Some mayors in corporations," it is said in a State Paper of 1604, "have already required—some, three pounds; some, five pounds; some, six pounds, thirteen shillings, and fourpence, yearly, to be paid them for a licence." "The present vintners," it is then added, "are all bound to Sir Walter Ralegh to pay him yearly, during their lives, twenty shillings; and, [as] it hath pleased his Highness to restore to Sir Walter Ralegh all his goods, . . . the bonds be his as before; which the Parliament hath never considered, but left the Vintners subject to all dangers both of one and the other." Eventually, the licensing power was kept in the King's hands; and I find it stated, in 1628, "This last year, the wine licences yielded to the King 4,320*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*" They had yielded Ralegh, adds the writer, but 1,000*l.* a year. The contrast affords an instructive note on the famous Parliamentary debate concerning Monopolies, of November 1601. It is more than probable that in 1628 the appropriation of this revenue had as little to do with the relief of public burdens as it had had in 1601.

*Domestic Corresp.* James I. vol. viii. § 90 (Rolls House).

Ibid. vol. xc. § 104 (January 1627-28).

## IX.

## TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 340.]

LETTER IX.

1584. July 9.

To the Senate of the University of Cambridge.

I COMEND me to you, being lothe to greve or discontent you, whom I love and am willinge any waies I may to pleasure. I have thought good to informe you of a late hard part and riotouse demeanor done by some of your Universitye, which I can as yet but take in contempte of her Majesties Graunt to me, not dealinge further therby, than lawfullie (as I am informed) I maye doe.

LETTER IX.

1584. July 9.

From the Court.

On the licensing of Vintners in Cambridge.

Yf otherwise, the Conference offered by my Deputees to one BAXTER and others, your late dealers in that cause; for the spedie and quyett dissidinge the matter by your learned Councell and myne, should have been accepted. The abuse done was sutche, as yf I shall not understand of some reformacion or correction to be done to the Malefactors, wherby this bearer JOHN KEYMER, her Majesties Subjecte lawfullie lycenced by me to sell Wynes in your Town, doe quyetlye enjoye the same untill by lawe (that governeth us all) yt be otherwyse determyned, I will devyse some other course for Reformacion herin. The barers haste awaye (to comfort his poor wife, who by violence offered was in case by sondrie soundes [1] and passions likelie to have dyed) was sutche as tyme served me not to move my very good Lord the Lord Treasurer, for his Honor's letter in reformacion hereof, which I dowted not to have had, but I doe rest assured that yourselves will take such directe and lawfull course herein, as neyther myself, nor yow, nor any other that will comaund us, shall have occasion further herein to be trobled, which I hartelie wishe: not desiringe so fullie and lawfullie to extend her Majesties Graunt in your Towne, as maye further greyve your Vynteners, the onlie styrrers herein, respecting more their gayne then quyett government. I crave your spedie answere in wrightinge—by this barer, but that the unlawfull and ryotous parties must not rest unpunyshed. And so I bidd you all hartelie farewell. From my lodging at the Cort, this ninth of July, 1584.

Your very assured loving Frind,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the Worshipfull Mr. Doctor* HOWLAND, *Vice Chancelor, and the rest of the Masters of the University of Cambridge.*

[1] *swoons.*

## X.

### TO MR. RICHARD DUKE, OF OTTERTON, IN DEVONSHIRE.

As transcribed from the Original by JOHN AUBREY. MS. Aubrey iv. f. 47 (**Bodleian Library, Oxford**). The original letter was, for a time, kept at Hayes, and was shown to visitors. Its present abode is not known.

LETTER X.

1584. July 26.

To Richard Duke. From the Court.

Proposal for the purchase of Hayes Manor House and Farm.

MR. DUKE,

I WROTE to Mr. PRIDEAUX to move yow touchinge the purchase of a farme[1] sometime in my Fathers possession. I will most willingly give whatsoever in your conscience you shall deeme it worth; and if at any time you shall have occasion to use me, yow shall fynd me a thankefull frind to yow and yours.

I am resolved, if I cannot entreat yow, to build at Colliton. But for the naturall disposition I have to that place,[2] being borne in that house, I had rather seate my sealf there then any where els. So I take my leve, readie to countervaile all your courtesies to the uttermost of my power. From the Court, the xxvi of July, 1584.

Your very willing frind in all I shalbe able,

W. RALEGH.

[1] Hayes Barton, in the parish of East Budleigh, Devonshire. See Vol. I. chap. i.

[2] Namely, Hayes.

1585.

## XI.

## TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR AND OTHERS, THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 341.]

LETTER XI.

1584-1585. Feb. 10.

To the Senate of the University of Cambridge. From Somerset House.

On the licensing of Vintners in Cambridge.

MR. VICE-CHANCELOR,

BEING (by informacion) perswaded, that your self, with the grave and well disposed of your University, were so greved with the unseamelye owtrages lately commytted by the young and unbridled hedds of the same, in contempte of the Quenes Majesties prerogatyve and graunt unto me, and to my discredytt, as suffycyent order by yow had been taken for this Bearer's quyett, which caused me to reste from requyringe reformacion therein at my very good Lord Treasurer's handes, who by me as yet understandeth not of these ryotts; and I did forbare, contrarye to the advyse of my learned Councell, in procedinge to enquyer by lawe of the same ryotts, of good wyll I beare to your Universitye; and meant so to deale with yow for the other foure Tavernes, as sholde suffycyentlie have contented yow. But my to[1] favorable dealinge with yow hath geven such encorage, as this day I am enformed you have warned this bearer to appeare before yow, whose wills therein I have willed him to performe. And I am further enformed, yow mynde to disturbe hym agayne from using his honest

[1] *too.*

LETTER XI.

1584-1585. Feb. 10.

and lawfull trade of Wynesellinge, authorysed thereunto by the Quenes Majesties Graunt, under the Great Seale of Ingland. And althoughe I know yow not, yet your place shold tell me, that your prosedings will be with hym juste and lawfull, which onlye I desyr of yow. So yow shall pleasure yourselves, and contynewe my redynes to doe yow any good I maye. I hope, uppon your answere, I shall fynde these informacions to growe rather uppon jelosey then juste matter. So I leave you to God. From the Cort at Somerset Howse, this 10th of Feb. 1584 [*legal style*].

Your very willing Frind,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To my loving friend Mr. Vice Chancelor, and the rest of the Masters of the University of Cambridge.*

## XII.

## TO THE SAME.

From the Original. **University Registry (Cambridge).** [Transcript in MS. Baker, xxix. 342.]

LETTER XII.

1584-1585. Feb. 20.

To the Senate of the University of Cambridge.

I CANNOT a little marvaile at your peremtory and proud manner of delinge. I was content to use all manner of curtesy towards yow (in respect of my Lord Treasurer, my honarable good Lorde), but I parcave, that my reasonable or rather to[1] submis deling hath bread in yow a proceding unsufferable. Yow have committed a poore man to prison having don nothing but warranted by the

[1] *too.*

LETTER XII.

1584-1585. Feb. 20.

On the same subject.

Great Seale of Ingland; your sealvs supposing a privilege by Charter. I doe not know that any man or Society would take so much uppon them, before tryall made. But, as I reverence the place of whence[1] you are Governors, so I will not willingly take any wrong or disgrace from yow. And I am assured My Lord Tresorer, who maye command me, will be indifferent in this case. For the matter so much concerneth the validity of my Patent elsewhere, as well as in your University, as I will try the uttermost of my right, as well for this one, which I was content to be satisfied withall, as for all the other foure. And so, having thought you would have vouchsafed an answere of my last letters, I end.

From the Cort, this 20th of Feb. 1584 [*legal style*].

Your Frind as yow shall geve cause,

W. RALEGH.

## XIII.

## SIR WALTER RALEGH AND SIR THOS. HENEAGE TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. clxxviii. § 78 (**Rolls House**). In the hand of an Amanuensis. Signed.

*** The extent to which, at this and at other periods (both earlier and later), the practice of carrying English captives into African slavery had grown, has been very inadequately illustrated by our historians. The State Papers abound with documents relating to it; and many of these, like the letter now printed, serve to indicate at once the mercantile character

[1] for '*which*'.

assumed by the negotiations for ransoming the captives, and some of the many abuses to which such private attempts at their redemption opened the way.

LETTER XIII.

1585. May 7.

To the Lords of the Council.

Report of an inquiry respecting the ransom of certain captives in Barbary.

IT MAIE PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIPS,

ACCORDINGE to Your Lordships' pleasures dyrected unto us from the honorable lords and others of Hir Majesties most honorable Pryvie Councell, upon a complainte exhibited by this bearer, MORGAN POWELL, we called before us the parties to whome the cause doth apperteyne; and upon twyce hearinge therof and what was produced by the learned councell of both sides, and also themselves, we conceyve the matter to stande even as it is sett down in a paper hereinclosed. And we fynde the hardenes of the case to consist in this:—That the iiij$^{xx}$v.*l* [85*l*.] sent by this complainant unto JOHN OWEN, accordinge to the direction of the Lord Maior, to be paid to WILLIAM SYMCOTS, for the captyves' ransom, was, by the procurement of the said Lord Maior, attached in the name of JOHNES in the hands of the saide OWEN, as the goods of one JOHN SYMCOTTS deceased, for that the saide JOHNES, as it appearith, was then indebted to the Lord Maior; by which devise the said iiij$^{xx}$v*l*., so sent by this complainant for the captyves' ransom, is comm to the hands of the said Lord Maior for the answeringe of the said JOHNES his debt, wherby, as we take it, this complainant is much wronged. In trothe it hath directlie been approved before us that the captyve was redeemed by WILLIAM SYMCOTTS' goods, and that the byls of exchange thereupon made by the captyve in Barbary were to the use of the said WILLIAM SYMCOTTS. And therfore it seemith strange unto us and ageinst all equitie that this complainant's money shold to any other purpose be deteyned.

LETTER XIII. 1585. May 7.

We also fynde that the said WILLIAM SIMCOTS hath recovered ageinst the said captyve, in Hir Majesties Court of Common [Pleas[1]] at Westminster, his whole somme of iiij$^{xx}$v*li.*, for the ransom, and x*li.* for damages besides. So that both the captyve and this complainant are lykely to be twice charged for the satisfaccion of one debt, unless Your Lordships take order to the contrarey. We had ordered and ended the matter to the satisfaction of all parties, and to the hinderance only of WILLIAM SYMCOTS (but with his consent), save that the Lord Maior refused it, and referred himself and the cawse to Your Lordships consideracion, to whom we humblie commende us.

Your Lordships' humble at comaundment,

T. HENEAGE. W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable and oure verie good Lords, the Lords of Her Majesties moste honorable Pryvie Counsell.*

Endorsed:

May, 1585, d. 7. *From Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir Walter Ralegh. What they have doin in the matter between Morgan Powell and Jones, abowt the mony paid for redeminge of a Captive in Barbary.*

[INCLOSURE.]

THOMAS POWELL AND PETER WILLIAMS TAKEN CAPTYVES IN BARBARIE, 1581.

John Owen of London, lynnendraper, with one George Williams, servant to Alderman Pullison, nowe Lord Maior, entred in bond to John Symcotts in cc*li.* [200*l.*], with condicion to paie all such somes of money as sholde be disbursed in Barbary for the ransom and redempcion of the said captives by the said John Symcotts, or any other by his order, according to bills of exchange or other remembrances to be presented to the said John Owen and George Williams for the same.

It appearith by the condicion of the sayde bonds.

[1] This word has been torn away, probably by the seal.

LETTER XIII.

1585. May 7.

Thomas Powell onelie was redeemed by this meanes following :—

John Symcotts, to whome the bonde was made, not having eny goods in those parts of Barbary, required one Edwarde Collyns, factor to William Symcotts (whoe then had th' adventure of iiij$^{c}$ *li.* [400*l.*]), to disburse of the said William Symcotts' goods iiij$^{xx}$v*li.* [85*l.*] for the ransom of Thomas Powell, captyve; and to putt it to William Symcotts' accompt, and to take bylls of exchange and other assurances of the said captyve to th' use of the said William Symcotts for the said some of iiij$^{xx}$v*li.*, all whiche the said Edwarde did accordinglie, as appearith by twoe bylls of exchange and one byll of debte made by the said captyve in Barbarie.

Witnesses to this, John Wardener and William Lynney, who were then present in Barbary, and now here. Edward Collyns the factor's deposition.

In the retourne from Barbarie, John Symcotts died. The said captyve aryvinge at London, in September 1583, mett with the said William Symcotts, where he tould him he was redeemed with iiij$^{xx}$v*li.* of his goods, by Edward Collyns, his factor, and had gyven bills of exchange and also a bill of debt to the use of the saide William Symcotts, for payment therof. Wherupon the said William Symcots and the captyve went to seeke John Owen and George Williams, who were not then in the cittie. And, having some speche with Alderman Pullison, nowe Lord Maior, for that the said George Williams was and yet is his man, the said captyve tould the said Alderman that he was redeemed by the goods of the said William Simcots. And then the said Alderman promised the said William Symcotts to write to one Morgan Powell, brother to the said captyve, to send up the monie, whoe thereupon sent it to London the vith of November, to be paid to William Symcotts, with three letters: one to the Alderman, the other to John Owen to see the payment, and the thirde to William Simcotts, which was never delyvered to him.

It appearith by bylls of exchange and the byll of debte made in Barbary.

It appearith by the Lord Maior's letter, and by John Owen's letter sent to the complainant.

When this money was sent up to London, one Nicholas Jones attached the same, as belonginge unto John Symcotts deceased, alleaginge that because the captyve was redeemed by John Symcotts' appointment (thoughe out of his brother William Symcotts goods) and bonds made unto John before his departinge England, by the sureties aforesaid, that therefore this monie was dewe unto John deceased; and John beinge indebted to Jones, Jones attached the same money, and Jones beinge indebted to the Lord Maior payde it to him.

And now the said William Symcotts (by whose goods the captyve was redeemed) brought his action in Hir Majesties Court of Common Plees at Westminster upon the captyves bill, and hath recovered the saide iiij$^{xx}$v*li.* besides x*li.* for his costs and damaiges, and hath judgment therupon.

Confessed by the parties to be trewe.

T. Heneage. W. Ralegh.

1586.

## XIV.

## TO ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER.

From the Original. MS. Harl. 6994, fol. 2 (**British Museum**). Holograph.

LETTER XIV.

1586. March 29.

To the Earl of Leicester. From the Court.

The sending of Pioneers to the Netherlands.

MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

YOU wrate unto me in your laste letters for pioners to be sent over; wher uppon I moved her Majestye, and found her very willing, in so mich as order was geven for a cummission; but since, the matter is stayd. I know not for what cause.

Also, according as your Lordshipe desired, I spake for one JUKES for the office of the back-house, and the matter well liked. In ought else your Lordshipe shall finde me most assured to my pouere to performe all offices of love, honor, and service towards you. But I have byn of late very pestilent reported in this place[1] to be rather a drawer bake, then a fartherer of the action wher you govern. Your Lordshipe doth well understand my affection towards Spayn, and how I have consumed the best part of my fortune, hating the tirrannus sprosperety[2] of that estate, and it were now strang and monnsterous that I should becum an enemy to my countrey and conscience. But all that I have desired att your Lordship's hands is, that you will evermore deal directly with mee in all matters of suspect dublenes, and so ever esteme mee as you shall finde my deserving, good or bad. In the mean

[1] *I.e.* in the Netherlands.

[2] So in MS.

LETTER XIV.
1586. March 29.

tyme, I humblie beseich you, lett no poeticall scribe work your Lordshipe by any device to doubt that I am a hollo or could sarvant to the action, or a mean well-willer and follower of your own. And yeven so, I humblie take my leve, wishing you all honor and prosperety. From the Court, the xxix of March, 1586.

Your Lordships, to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—The Queen is on very good tearms with you, and, thank be to God, well pacified; and you are agayne her 'Sweet Robyn.'

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Earle of* LESTER, *Governour of the Low Countres for her Majesty.*

Endorsed:

29 *March*, 1586. *Sir W. Rawlegh.*

## XV.

## TO SIR JOHN GILBERT.

From the Original. MS. Sloane, 1519, fol. 137 (**British Museum**). Without address or endorsement. Holograph.

LETTER XV.
1586. May 29.
To Sir John Gilbert. From the Court.

GOOD BROTHER,

LETT the bread which was left of my cussen[1] CLYDLE'S proportion be in wredines, for my barks are cumming about[2] for hit, and the sider which I wrat to you for. My Lord Admirall's judg calleth out for accompt, and says I shall forfet my office if any shipps

[1] This word is scarcely legible.

[2] *I.e.* to Plymouth.

will go to Newfounland in consort to . . . . .[1] Spanierds. Wee will sett out sume from hence and go together. I pray inquire of the howers.[2] From the Court, the 29 of May [1586].

Your most assured loving brother,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER XV.

1586. May 29.

On the Victualling of Ships at Plymouth.

1587.

## XVI.

### TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

From the Original. MS. Tanner, lxxix. fol. 117, formerly marked 175 (**Bodleian Library, Oxford**). Holograph. Without address, the fly-leaf having been destroyed. [See fac-simile.]

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

WITH mich ado I procured [?][3] her Majesties leve for Sir FRANCIS [DRAKE] to visatt your Excelency, which I would most willingly have doun my sealf, wear it possible. But wher soever I remayn, none shal be more redy to serve yowr Excelency then my sealf. Sir FRANCIS is in good hope to return for the Indies. If it may be brought to pass, I doubt not but all shalbe recoveryde [?][3] I hope your Excelency will assist what you may. Hyme sealf can deliver best the estate of all things here. And so, with my humble dewty, I kiss your hands. From Winsor, this 8 of October [1587].

Your Excelences to serve you,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER XVI.

1587. Oct. 8.

To the Earl of Leicester. From Windsor.

Announcement of the Visit of Sir Francis Drake to the Netherlands.

[1] Here a small portion of the letter has been torn away, probably by the seal.

[2] This word also is doubtful.

[3] These words are doubtful, being scarcely legible.

## XVII.

## TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. ccvi. § 40 (**Rolls House**). Holograph.

LETTER XVII.
1587. Dec. 20.
To Lord Burghley. From Exeter.
Defence of the Country; Proposals for the Levies in Devon and Cornwall.

MY SINGULAR GOOD LORDE,

ACCORDINGE to your Lordship's and the rest of my Lords' directions, I have attended the Earle of BATH and conferred with the deputes of Devon and the citty of Exon for the drawinge together of 2,000 foote and 200 horse; and I finde great differences in oppinion amonge them. Some are of oppinion that this burden wilbe grevous unto the countrey, standinge att this tyme voyde of all traficque: the subside not beinge yet gathered, and the past musters having byn very chargable. Sir JOHN GILBERT, Sir RICHARD GRANVILLE, and the Earle hym sealf, beinge more zelous both in religion and Her Majesties service—who have allways founde a reddy disposicion in their devisions, and willingnes to beare whatsoever shalbe thought meet for Her Majesties service by their people—ar of oppinion that the matter and service wilbe very fesible. It is most asured that the carefull usage of the action by the deputes in their severall devisions will easely induce the inferior sort to whatsoever shalbe thought necessary for Her Majesties saufty and their own defence. But sume other of the cummission of Devon (in my conscience before the Lorde) being bothe infected in religion and vehemently malcontent,—who, by how mich the more they ar tem-

LETTER XVII.

1587. Dec. 20.

perat, by so mich the more dangerous,—are secreatly great hinderence of all actions tendinge to the good of Her Majesty or saufty of the present State. Thes men make doubt that your Honor's instructions alone ar not sufficient and saufe warrant for their discharge; and that, if any refuse to contribute, they see not by what they should be inforsed; with a thowsand dillitory cavelacions.

For myne own oppinion, under your Lordship's correction, if it might, notwithstandinge, stande withe Her Majestfes likinge to beare them half of the charge, being great, it would be very consonant to all good pollecy; and the countrey, as I judge, will willingly defrey the rest, which onles ther wear ministers of other disposicions will not be so saufly and easely brought to effect.

I have sent your Lordshipe an Estimate of the whole, with which I humblie pray your Lordship to acquaynt Her Majesty, and not otherwise to impart my letter, because I am bold to write my simple oppinion playnly unto your Lordshipe; the same beinge, as the Lord doth judge, without respect or parcialty,—havinge vowed my travaile and life to Her Majesties service only, and for ever.

*Inclosure; being an Estimate of Forces for defence of the Western counties.*

I have writen to the deputes of Cornwale, and am reddy to repaire thither with all dillegence to performe the rest of Her Majesties cummande geven mee in charge by your Lordships.

And yeven so, humblie cummending my service unto your Lordship's favourable construction, I take my leve. From Exon, this xx of December, 1587.

Your Lordship's to do you all honor and service,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER XVII.

1587. Dec. 20.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—The cittisens of Exter, as yet, refuse to beare such part as was thought meet by the levetenants of Devon and the rest.[1]

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord Highe Tresourer of Ingland.*

Endorsed, by Lord Burghley:

21 *December*, 1587. *Sir Walter Ralegh. Levy of* 2,000 *foot*, 200 *hors, in Devon and Cornwall.*

[INCLOSURE.]

THE CHARDG OF TRAYNING OF 2,000 FOOT AND 200 HORS IN DEVON AND CORNWALL, FOR 16 DAYES.[2]

[1] The differences and controversies referred to in this letter grew, partly, out of separate jurisdictions; and partly, out of special burdens, the incidence of which lay almost wholly upon the mercantile community of the coast towns. Hence, on the one hand, arose several disputes between Ralegh, as Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall and Lord Warden of the Stannaries (extending, it is to be remembered, into Devon as well as Cornwall), and the Earl of Bath, as Lord Lieutenant of Devon; and, on the other, the claims of the citizens of Exeter to be exempted, on the ground of their great charges in the defence of their trade against the Barbary and other pirates, from the proportion they must otherwise have borne of the burden of the general levies. The relative dangers of the two counties in respect of invasion; their relative means of defence; and the special circumstances which affected the Stannary population; are all treated of, by Ralegh, at great length and with conspicuous ability, in a subsequent letter (one of the many remarkable letters which are now printed for the first time), addressed to the Lords of the Council. That letter brings before the reader's mind, with like vividness, the physical configuration of the Western counties; their industrial character; and their relative shares in the wealth of nature.

[2] This title is from Lord Burghley's endorsement. The inclosure is entirely in the hand of an amanuensis.

LETTER XVIII.

1587. Dec. 20.

*How the number of 2,000 footemenn and 200 horse in the counties of Devon [and] Cornwall, the cittie of Exon, and the Stannaries, are to be selected:—*

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Of Devon | The bodie of the Shire with the Stannaries to furnishe | 1200 footemenn<br>134 horsemenn | Of which number the Stannarie to furnishe | 200 fotemen. | So is the number of the whole Army:— 2,000 footemen. 200 horse. |
| Of Cornwall | The bodie of the Shire with the Stannaries to furnishe | 600 footemen<br>66 horsemen | Of which the Stannary to furnishe | 200 fotemen. | |
| The countie and cittie of Exon | To furnishe | 200 footemen | | | |

| | | | £ | s. | d. | | | £ | s. | d. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The generall officers of this Army | The generall of the Army<br>The livetenent generall<br>The Marshall<br>Fowre Coranells<br>Two thresorers | Sarvinge without paie. | | | | | | | | | |
| General Officers with paie | The sergeant major, by daie | | | 6 | 8 | The whole charge of the Wages of the twenty bands of footemen and four bands of horse | = | 1457 | 0 | 0 | The whole charge:— £2,163 5s. 0d. |
| | The provost marshall ,, | | | 5 | 0 | | | | | | |
| | The clarke of the check ,, | | | 2 | 6 | | | | | | |
| The paie for the Companies Officers and Soldiers by the daie | A captaine | | | 4 | 0 | | | | | | |
| | A livetenente | | | 2 | 0 | | | | | | |
| | An ensigne | | | 1 | 6 | | | | | | |
| | A sergeant | | | 1 | 6 | | | | | | |
| | A clarke of the bande | | | 1 | 0 | | | | | | |
| | A drom | | | 1 | 0 | | | | | | |
| | A hundreth men at 8*d.* per person | | 3 | 6 | 8 | | | | | | |
| The horsemen being divided into foure cornetts, hath | The Coronel of the Horse<br>The master of the Campe | Without paie. | | | | | | | | | |
| | 4 captaines | For each by the daie | 5 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | 4 liveteneutes | | 3 | 0 | | 12 | 0 | | | | |
| | 4 guidons | | 2 | 6 | | 10 | 0 | | | | |
| | 4 clarks | | 1 | 6 | | 6 | 0 | | | | |
| | 4 trumpetts | | 1 | 6 | | 6 | 0 | | | | |
| | 200 horse | | 1 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | | | | |
| | Ther is allowed for each soldier for this service of sixteen daies, tenn pounde of Powder at 12*d.* the pounde, and is | | 500 | 0 | 0 | The charge of munition to be spent in this service | = | 706 | 5 | 0 | |
| | Ther is allowed of matche for each soldier at halfe a pounde the daie, and is for the sixtene daies at 6*d.* the pounde | | 200 | 0 | 0 | | | | | | |
| | Of leade for each mann one pounde, at 1½*d.* the pounde | | 6 | 5 | 0 | | | | | | |

1588.

## XVIII.

### TO SIR THOMAS EGERTON, SOLICITOR-GENERAL; (*Afterwards Viscount Brackley.*)

As communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, March 2, 1854, by MR. J. PAYNE COLLIER, from the Original, in the Library of the EARL of ELLESMERE (**Bridgewater House**).

LETTER XVIII.

1587-1588. March 8.

To Sir Thomas Egerton.

Renewal of his Patent for granting Wine Licences throughout England.

SIR,

WHEREAS the Quene's Majestie hath heretofore given unto me, by her Letters patentes, aucthoritie to graunte Licenses for the sellinge of Wynes by retayle; her Highnes' pleasure is to revoke and make voydè the same, and by new Letters patentes to regraunte unto me the aucthoritie and benefytt therof. for a further terme of yeres. Wherefore, I pray you hartely to peruse the drafte which this bearer, my servante, shall bring unto you, and sett your hande thereunto, redie for her Highnes to signe, and I wilbe redie to requyte your courtesie. So hopinge your carefull dealinge for me, accordinge to my requeste, I bid you hartely farewell.

Your lovinge Frende,

W. RALEGH.

This 8th of March, 1587 [*legal style*].

SIR,—Her Majesty her sealf cummaunded mee to acquaynt yow with the booke, and therfore yow shall not need to doubt; for yow may take knowledg of her plesure by thes my letters; beseechinge yow to frinde me so much to make expedition herein, and yow shall cummaunde mee in what I may stand yow in steede.[1]

[1] In his reply to this letter, Sir Thomas Egerton, after answering its main subject, went into some further detail, which is not without its bio-

1589.

## XIX.

## TO SIR GEORGE CAREW,

(*Afterwards Earl of Totnes.*)

From the Original. *Carew Papers:* MS. Tenison, dcv. fol. 140 (**Lambeth Palace**). Holograph.

LETTER XIX.

1589. Dec. 27.

CUSSEN GEORGE,

FOR my retrait from the Court[1] it was uppon good cause to take order for my prize. If in Irlande they

graphical interest:—"But understanding further, by this bearer, that, in the absence of your Counsell, your will was that I shoulde consyder of the booke which passed betweene you and Mr. Browne, and that yt pleased you to use my opynion therin, I have perused the same accordinglie, and fynde yt to be intrycatelie penned, and with so great disadvantage for your parte, that I doubte the course which you are directed will hardlie satisfie your expectation; for, as I conceave yt, ymmediatlie [after] Her Majesties revocation, Mr. Browne ys to be discharged of the payment of his rent of 800*li.*, but yet your graunt to hym will contynue still in force untill, upon a perfecte accompte made by hym, you satisfie unto hym within vj monethes so muche of the somme of 1300*li.* as before that tyme he shall not have levyed by vertue of your graunte; and yf he refuse to yeld any such accompte at all, and so neglecte to receave any suche satisfaction at your handes, but resolve rather, beinge discharged of his rent, to contynue still to benyfitte of your graunt, I doubt greatlie that by lawe you shall hardlie avoyde yt. Wherfore I wyshe your counsell should advysedlie consyder of the pointe, before you procede with the revocation. And if by the wordes of the booke he [Browne] have this libertie and advantage in lawe (as I doubte muche he hath), then ys there nothing in the booke to restrayne hym, saving onlye his bare covenant, to redeliver unto you the Letters Pattentes within six monethes after Her Majesties revocation, which was not so sufficientlie forseene and provyded for by your counsell in the drawinge of the booke as was meet. Thes thinges I thought good to make knowne unto you, and so leave them to your good consyderation, resting allwayes moost readye to be used by you in any servyce I can performe. And so, with my humble duetie, I commyt you to God. Your Worship's moost ready at commandment," &c.

[1] See Vol. I. p. 120.

LETTER XIX.

1589. Dec. 27.

To Sir G. Carew. [From London?]

Cause of his recent absence from the Court.—Proceedings of the Lord Deputy Fitzwilliam.—Lawsuits about Lismore.

thincke that I am not worth the respectinge they shall mich deceave them sealvs. I am in place to be beleved not inferrior to any man, to plesure or displesure the greatest; and my oppinion is so receved and beleved as I can anger the best of them. And, therfore, if the Deputy[1] be not as reddy to steed mee as I have bynn to defend hyme,—be it att is may.[2]

When Sir WILLIAM FITZWILLIAMS shalbe in Ingland, I take mysealfe farr his better by the honorable offices I hold, as also by that nireness to her Majestye which still I injoy, and never more. I am willinge to continew towards hyme all frindly offices, and I doubt not of the like frome hyme, as well towards mee as my frinds. This mich I desire he should understand; and, for my part, ther shalbe nothinge wantinge that becummeth a frinde; nether can I but hold myself most kindly dealt withall heretherto, of which I desire the continuance. I have deserved all his curteses in the hiest degree.

For the sute of Lesmore, I will shortly send over order from the Queen for a dismis of their cavelacions; and so, I pray, deale as the matter may be respeted for a tyme; and cummend mee to Mr. Sollicitor with many thancks for his frindly deling therin; and I assure yow, on myne honor, I have deservde it att his hands in place wher it may most steed hyme.

For HARDINGE, I will send unto yow mony by exchange with all possible spead, as well to pay hyme (if he suffer the recoverye) as all others; and till then, I pray, if my builders want, supply them.

I look for yow here this springe, and, if possible[3] I may, I will returne with yow. The Queen thincks that GEORGE CAREW longes to see her; and therfore

[1] Sir William Fitzwilliam.

[2] So in MS., being written hastily for '*as it may*.'

[3] *possibly*.

see her. Farewell, noble GEORGE, my chosen frind and kinsman, from whom nor tyme, nor fortune, nor adversety, shall ever sever mee.

LETTER XIX. 1589. Dec. 27.

The 27 of December [1589].

W. RALEGH.

Addressed :

*To my lovinge Cussen, Sir* GEORGE CAREW, *Master of the Ordinance in Irland.*

Endorsed :

*Raleghe. The 28th of December*, 1589.

1591.

## XX.

## TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original. MS. Lansdowne, vol. lxix. fol. 60, verso (**British Museum**). Holograph. Without address, and without date of the year.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR LORDSHIP,

LETTER XX. 1591. Oct. 16.

To Lord Burghley. From Durham House.

On the value of certain prizes captured by the Ships of John Watts and

UPPON Her Majesties motion for the understandinge of the valew of thes late prises brought in by Mr. WATTS' shipps, wee have conferred together and sett downe the trew valew of all; what parts go out, and what remaynes amonge twelve of us. All which amounteth not to the increas of one for one, which is a small returne. Wee might have gotten more to have sent them a fishinge. I assure your Lordship, what soever is taken, fifty of the hundred goes cleare away from the Adventurers to the mariners, the Lord Admirall, and to the Queene; the rest, being but fourteen thousand pounde or ther about, is a small

LETTER XX.
1591. Oct. 16.
others, and on the partition of profits.

matter amounge twelve Adventurers; and of which fourteen [thousand pounds], the settinge out cost us very nire eyght thousand. This is the very trewth, I assure your Lordship before the livinge God, as nire as wee can sett downe or gett knowledge of. Of which, if ought should be taken, ther would never one man of warr put out; and so all our shipps may rote, our mariners run awaye, and Her Majesty lose the best part of her custom. And, besyds, the sume not worth the looking after. Thus humblie praying your Lordship's favorable consent in our rightfull cause, I humblie take my leve. From Derum House, this xvi of October [1591].

Your Lordship's humblie to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

Endorsed by Lord Burghley:
*Sir Walter Raleghe.* 16. 7 b. [So in MS.] *Note and Vallew of the shipps taken by Watts and his company.*[1]

## 1592.

## XXI.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

As printed by MURDIN, from the Original in the *Cecil Papers* (**Hatfield**). [See Vol. I. pp. 146—158.]

LETTER XXI.
1591-1592. March 10.

SIR,

I RECEVED your letters this present day at Chattame, concerninge the wages of the mariners and others.

[1] On the back of this letter appears an account thus headed: "Goods brought to London by the shipps of John Watts, Merchant, and others, in company." Then follows an estimate of the value of the merchandise and bullion captured, amounting, in the whole, to £31,150. "Whereout is to

LETTER XXI.

1591-1592. March 10.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Chatham.

Preparations for an Expedition against the Spanish Fleet.—Allusion to rumours about his Marriage.

For myne own part, I am very willing to enter bonde, as yow perswaded me, so as the Privey Seale be first sent for my injoyinge the third; but I pray consider that I have layd all that I am worth, and must do, ere I depart on this voyage. If it fall not out well, I can but loose all, and if nothinge be remayning, wherewith shall I pay the wages? Besides, her Majestie told mee herselfe that shee was contented to paye her part, and my Lord Admirall his, and I should but discharge for myne own shipps. And farther, I have promised her Majestie that, if I can perswade the Cumpanies to follow Sir MARTEN FURBRESHER,[1] I will without fail returne; and bringe

be deducted for the third of mariners' part, £10,383; for my Lord his tenth, £3,015; for the Queen's customs, £1600; in charges for bringing the goods, £1200 = £16,198. Rests unto the owners and victuallers, to be divided amongst twelve, £14,952."

[1] NOTE ON RALEGH AND FROBISHER.

By the hypothetical expression—"*if* I can perswade the Cumpanies to follow Sir Marten Furbresher"—Ralegh seems to glance at the then notorious unpopularity of Frobisher with mariners, on account of his sternness of character and the 'martinet' severity of discipline which he maintained. This eminent navigator was probably, at the time when Ralegh's letter was written, fifty years of age, and he survived little more than two years longer; dying, in November 1594, of wounds received in the expedition which he had bravely conducted in aid of the defence of Brest against the troops of the King of Spain. What is known of Frobisher's life has been recently collected by Admiral Collinson, in the highly interesting volume published by the Hakluyt Society, and entitled, *Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, in Search of a Passage to Cathaia.* It is by an oversight, however—as will be shown presently—that the gallant Admiral has said *of Frobisher*, when speaking of his share in Ralegh's expedition of 1592,—"He had but three ships, yet he made a shift *to burn one rich galleon, and to bring home another.*" The famous voyages of 1577 and 1578, which won for Sir Martin his most enduring laurels, present some curious incidental parallelisms with occurrences in the long subsequent voyages to Guiana of Ralegh, and in the metallurgic transactions which grew out of them. His own unfortunate experiences must have many times brought to Ralegh's mind the previous troubles of poor Frobisher with his "gold ores" and his foreign mineralogists. But the expedition of 1592 is the only one which is known to have brought Ralegh and Frobisher into direct intercourse.

LETTER XXI.
1591-1592. March 10.

them but into the sea but sume fifty or thriscore leagues, for which purpose my Lord Admirall hath lent me the *Disdayne;* which to do her Majestie many tymes, with great grace, bedd mee remember, and sent mee the same message by WILL KILLEGREWE, which, God willinge, if I can perswade the Cumpanies, I meane to performe; though I dare not be acknown therof to any creature. But, Sir, for mee then to be bounde for so great a sume, uppon the hope of another man's fortune, I will be loth; and besids, if I weare able, I see no privy seale for my thirds. I mean not to cume away, as they say I will, for feare of a marriage, and I know not what. If any such thing weare, I would have imparted it unto yourselfe before any man livinge; and, therefore, I pray believe it not, and I beseich yow to suppress, what you can, any such mallicious report. For I protest before God, ther is none, on the face of the yearth, that I would be fastned unto.[1] And so in hast I take my leve of your Honor. From Chattame, the 10th of March.

Your's ever to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

## XXII.

### TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. ccxlii. § 48 (**Rolls House**). Holograph. Without address or superscription.

LETTER XXII.
1592. June 8.

MY VERY GOOD LORD,

I HAVE seen the letter of the Deputes of Midelburgh, to which I am bold in this manner to awnswere.

[1] So in MS., but apparently the sentence is incomplete. See *Life*, Vol. I. p. 137.

LETTER XXII.

1592. June 8.

To the Lord Admiral Howard. From Durham House.

Answer to the complaint of some merchants of Middleburgh, in relation to the treatment of certain Flemish ships.

About the thirteen day of Maye, as I remember, early in the morninge, about fortye leagus of the Cap Finister, wee discried a fleet of thirteen shipps; the Admirall carriinge a redd flage and the Vice-Admirall a white; which wee veryley thought to have bynn the fleet of Saint Mallos, wherof wee had harde, and was uppon returning. Thes shipps, notwithstanding they might well know us to be Inglishmen, and might easely perceive Her Majesties shipp to be Admirall, bare from us all the [1] could, and keipt out their flages in great bravery, till the *Rowbucke* reachinge the Admirall shote at hyme, and made hyme strike; which don, all strake and bare with mee, but foure, who, contrary to their bonds and promises to follow their Admirall, packt on all the sayle the [1] could, and left their own Admirall and us, beinge at hand with them, and knew us as well as our sealvs; after whom three of our smaler shipps followed.

I asked the Admirall and the rest why the rest rane away, knowing Her Majesties shipp to be ther. He told mee he knew not what the Flemings suspected of them sealvs, or whos goods they caried. Thos seven, after I had taken out Davis from them and two other passengers, which I sent your Lordship, I dismissed; and suffered not the valew of a farthinge to be taken from any of them. The rest, as it is confessed, first forsooke ther Admirall, rane from Her Majesties shipp, and fought it out afterward, as longe as she [2] could, agaynst thos three Inglish shipps, being apoynted so well as they weare by their own confession, notwithstandinge he had seen his own Admirall strike; which in my oppinion douth make it very playne that the monye belonged to thos of Anwerpe who dayly fraight shipps of Zelande for the trade of Spayne, to abuse Her Majestye. Besids, if

[1] *they.*

[2] So in MS.

LETTER XXII. — 1592. June 8.

MANNSFELD had not had good reason for that he did, he would not have caried the shipp backe towards his Admirall thriscore and five leauges, but would have turnde her of,[1] and gonn awaye otherside Irland or Wales. Besides, it is in their letter confessed that MANSFELD did urge sume of the cumpany to confess it was belonginge to thos of Anwarpe ;—so as it apereth it was confessed to be so. In my oppinion the Flemings cannot say less for them sealvs then they do; and if they can recover xx thowsand pound for the askinge, I cannot blame them. I protest, before the levinge God, I am of oppinion that nether MANSFELD or any of the rest durst any more robe any Fleminge, or other, (being charged and instructed as they weare,) then they durst hange them sealvs. Besids, the masters of bothe the shipps be very honest and sufficient men, and of good wealth, especially the on. From Durham House, this 8 of June [1592].

Your Honor's humble att cummandement,

W. RALEGH.

Endorsed :

8 *Junii*, 1592. *The aunsweare of Sir Walter Raleigh to the letter of the Merchants of Middlebourgh.*

## XXIII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxi. ff. 58, 59 (**Hatfield**).

LETTER XXIII. — [1592. July.]

SIR,

I WRAT unto your father how I am dealt withall by the Deputye,[3] to whom my disgraces have bynn highly cummended. Hee supposed a debt of four hundred

[1] *off.* [2] *one.* [3] Sir William Fitzwilliam.

LETTER XXIII.

[1592. July.]

To Sir R. Cecil. [From the Tower.]

Dealings of the Lord Deputy with Sir Walter's tenants in Munster.

pounds to the Queen, for rent, and sent order to the Shiriff to take away all the cattell my tenants had, and sell them the next day, unless the money weare payd the same day. All Munster hath scarce so mich mony in it; and the debt was indeed but fifty marks, which was payde, and it was the first and only rent that hath yet bynn payd by any undertaker. But the Shirife did as he was cummanded, and tooke away five hundred milch kine from the poor people; sume had but two, and sume three, to releve their poore wives and children, and in a strang country newly sett downe to builde and plant. Hee hath forcible thrust mee out of possession of a Castell, because it is in law between mee and his cousin WINCKFELD,[1] and will not here my atornes speake. Hee hath admitted a ward, and geven it his man, of a Castell which is the Queen's, and hath bynn by mee new built and planted with Inglishe, this five years; and to profitt his man with a wardshipp, looseth her Majesties inheritance, and would plant the cussen of a rebell in the place of Inglishe men, the Castell stanetinge in the most dangerous place of all Munster.

Besids, ther is a band of soldiers, which a base phello, O'DODALL, hath in Yoholl,[2] which duth cost the Queen twelve hundred pound a yeare, and hath not ten good men in it; but our porest people muster and serve hyme for threepence a day, and the rest of his soldiers do nothing but spoyle the country, and drive away our best tenants.

If the Queen be over rich, it may bee mayntayned; but I will, att three days' warninge, rayse her a better bande, and arme it better tenfold, and better men, whensoever shee shall need it. And, in the mean tyme, it may

[1] Richard Wingfield, Deputy to Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at War in Ireland.

[2] Youghal.

LETTER XXIII. [1592. July.]

ether be imployed in the North, or discharged; for ther is in Munster, besids, a band of horse, and another of foot, which is more than needeth. In this, if yow pleas to move it, yow may save her Majestye so mich in her coffers. For the rest I will send my man to attend yow, although I care not ether for life or lands; but it will be no small weakninge to the Queen in thos parts, and no small cumfort to the ill-affected Irishe, to have the Inglishe inhabitants driven out of the country, which are yet stronge enough to master the rest, without her charge.

Yours, to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To my honorable frinde, Sir* R. CICILL, *Knt., of Her Majesty's most honorable Privy Councell.*

## XXIV.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

As printed by MURDIN, from the Original, in the *Cecil Papers* (**Hatfield**).

LETTER XXIV. 1592. July. To Sir R. Cecil. [From the Tower.] Rebellion in Ireland. —Proceedings of the Deputy in relation to Ralegh's lands in Munster.

SIR,

I PRAY send me the news of Ireland. I hear that there are three thousand of the BURGKS in arms, and young ODONELL and the sons of SHANE ONEALE. I wrote in a letter of Mr. KILLEGREEW'S, ten days past, a prophesye of this rebellion, which when the Queen read, she made a scorn at my conceat; but yow shall find it but a shoure of a farther tempest. If yow please to sent me word of what yow hear, I will be laught at again in my opinion touching the same, and be bold to write yow my farther suspicion. Your cousen, the dotinge Deputy,[1] hath dispeopled me; of which I have written to your father already. It is a sign how my disgraces have past

[1] Sir William Fitzwilliam.

the seas, and have been highly commended to that wise Governour, who hath used me accordingly. So I leve to trouble yow at this time, being become like a fish cast on dry land, gasping for breath, with lame leggs and lamer loonges. Your's, for the little while I shall desire to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER XXIV. 1592 July.

Addressed:
*To my very loving friend, Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, of Her Majesty's most honorable Privy Councell.*

## XXV.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

As printed by MURDIN, from the Original, in the *Cecil Papers* (**Hatfield**).

SIR,

I PRAY be a mean to her Majesty for the signing of the bills for the Gards' coats, which are to be made now for the Prograsse, and which the Cleark of the Cheeck hath importunde me to write for.

LETTER XXV. [1592. July.] To Sir R. Cecil. [From the Tower.] Routine duties, as Captain of the Guard.—Passionate regrets for loss of the Queen's favour.

My heart was never broken till this day, that I hear the Queen goes away so far of,[1]—whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire, in so many journeys, and am now left behind her, in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet nire at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three dayes, my sorrows were the less: but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I that was wont to behold her riding like *Alexander*, hunting like *Diana*, walking like *Venus*, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph; sometime siting in the shade like a Goddess; sometime singing like an angell; sometime playing like *Orpheus*. Behold

[1] *off.*

LETTER XXV.
[1592. July.]

the sorrow of this world! Once amiss, hath bereaved me of all. O Glory, that only shineth in misfortune, what is becum of thy assurance? All wounds have skares, but that of fantasie; all affections their relenting, but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friendship, but adversity? or when is grace witnessed, but in offences? There were no divinety, but by reason of compassion; for revenges are brutish and mortall. All those times past,—the loves, the sythes, the sorrows, the desires, can they not way down one frail misfortune? Cannot one dropp of gall be hidden in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *Spes et fortuna, valete.* She is gone, in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that that was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list. I am more weary of life then they are desirous I should perish; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born.

Your's, not worthy any name or title,

W. R.

Addressed:
*To my honorable friend, Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, of Her Majesty's most honorable Privy Councell.*

## XXVI.

## TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL, HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM.

From he Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. ccxlii. § 131 (Rolls House). Holograph.

LETTER XXVI.
1592. August?

MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

I HAVE sent to Sir JOHN HAWKINGS to have his oppinion touchinge the *Great Susan*, and both hee and my sealf do verely think that in removing the vitles att

LETTER XXVI.

1592. August?

To Lord Admiral Howard. [From the Tower.]

Affairs of the Navy.—Thanks for Lord Howard's interposition with the Queen.

this tyme of the yeare,—the drink turnde on the leese, —all wilbe spoyld, so as I see no way but to leve the shippe and sell the remayne of the provisions; for I know no boddye but my sealf (if I had byne att libertye) that would undertake to sett her out, and a good strenght is therby wantinge, especially where a few mens[1] [?] ayde is required. It is hard to lessen that that was; but it is more profitable to punishe my great treasons, then that I should ether strenghten the fleet, or do many other things that lye in the diches. Here ar besides all the mariners that came in the prize, and the soldiers. They run up and down, exclayminge for paye. I dare not speak with them that I might cumpare their names with my booke, to know when they entr'eat[2] into paye and what hath bynn impresteđ, and so that order may be directly taken for their discharge. For now both thos of good and ill desart ar mixed without respect: the on[3] unpunished, the other unpayde. I beseich your Lordship, if it be thought fitt, that order be geven to Sir GEORG [CAREW] that they may cum unto mee, to stay all farther exclamacion.

I was yesterday advertesed from a man of mine cumminge from the coast of Britayne [Brittany] that ther ar twentye shipps of warr for the leauge, that lye between Silley and Ushent to take up our "new-landmen[4] and to watch for any prises that shalbe sent home. If any of the ships in the Narrow Seas weare sent for a time, or some other course taken, it weare most necessarye; or elce wee shall lose all, and be a scorne to all nacions. But wee ar so mich busied with the affaires of other nacions, of whos manghangled trobles ther will never be end, that wee forgett our own affaires,

[1] This reading is doubtful. [2] So in MS. [3] *one*. [4] So in MS.

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1592. August ?

our profitt, and our honor. Hee is of a mean consait that lookes not into the purpose of this Peace, which may as well be turnde over,—finesse contra finesse,—to our most advantage. But in the meanwhile the few mean actions of our own ar utterly neglected.

To conclude, I must humblie thank your Lordship for your most honorable care of mee in this unfortunat accident. But I see ther is a determinacion to disgrace mee and ruin mee. And therfore I beseich your Lordship not to offend Her Majestye any farther by sewing for mee. I am now resolved of the matter. I only desire thatt I may be stayd no on[1] houre from all the extremetye that ether lawe or presedent can avowe. And, if that be to[2] litle, would God it weare withall concluded that I might feed the lions, as I go by, to save labor. For the torment of the mind cannot be greater; and, for the boddye, would others did respect themsealvs as mich as I valew hit att litle. And so, with my humble dewtys, and thancks which I canot express, I leve your Lordship to God.

Your Lordship's poore kinsman to do
you servece for ever,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable the Lord High Admirall of Ingland.*

[1] *one.* [2] *too.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XXVII.—*CAPTURE OF A SHIP OF BAYONNE.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XXVII.

1592. August.

THE letter which follows was sent by the Lord Admiral Howard, from Eyfleet, to Lord Burghley on the 28th of August, 1592, with a letter from himself in these terms :—"My very good Lord, this enclosed letter, directed to your Lordship and myself, coming to my hands, I made bold to break open, and do find the same to be an answer unto a letter written from us unto Sir WALTER RAWLIGHE touching a ship of Bayone taken by his man FLOYRE. For the particulars whereof I refer your Lordship unto itself; and think good only to touch the last part where he saith that FLOYRE delivered over the ship and goods to my Vice-Admiral upon letters from me which required the same. So it was that the Frenchman that made claim to the goods, having obtained commission out of the Admiralty Court for restitution of his ship and goods unto him, had also letters of assistance unto the same from me, by virtue of which the ship with some of the fish was recovered by the Vice-Admiral of Somerset, and delivered unto the Frenchman by order out of the Admiralty Court. Whereof I have thought good to advertise your Lordship."

## XXVII.

### TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY, AND THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.

From the Original. *Burghley Papers* in MS. Lansdowne, vol. cxv fol. 173 (**British Museum**). In the hand of an Amanuensis. With autograph subscription and signature.

LETTER XXVII.

1592. Aug. 27.

To Lord Burghley and Lord Howard of Effingham.

On the taking of a ship of Bayonne by Capt. John Floyer.

MY VERIE GOOD LORDS,

I HAVE receaved a letter from your Lordships concerning the taking of a shipp of Bayon, laden with fish, by Captain JOHN FLOIRE, whereunto your Lordships require my aunsweare. I acquainted the Judg of th' Admiraltie and Captain FLOIRE with the complaint, and do finde that in the Bay of Portugal, JOHN FLOIRE, meeting with this shipp of Bayon, which a little before was taken going into Spaine with victuell, without license, by a man of warre 'of Diep,' as was said,—though Captain FLOIRE judged him rather to be of Newhaven,—was earnestly entreated to succor and rescue them from the captain and others which were putt abord from the man of warr. Captain FLOIRE, perceaving that they were the French king's frends and like to be spoiled by Leaguers, caused the supposed captain of Diep and the master of the ship of Bayon to come abord his shipp, where one accused the other: the one, for carying victuel to the enemy; the other, for landing the greatest part of his men in Spaine. Hereupon the master, standing upon his integritie and innocencie, promised Captain FLOIRE great recompence to rescue him and to bring his shipp and lading safelie into some port of England, affirming that in France he should be

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oppressed by the Ligue, and find no justice in recoverie of them againe; during which time there arose a great tempest,—so violent that Captain FLOIRE could neither return the French captain and master to the shipp from whence they came, nor receave his own men out of the ship of Bayon. This storm severed the shipps, and the French ship was by Captain FLOIRE'S men, which did swim abord her, caried to Uphil in Severn with intent to have made spoile of her; which Captain FLOIRE understanding was forced to put into Plymmouth, and to victuel his ship for a moneth longer, all which time he followed the French shipp, and tooke her againe. Within 2 or 3 daies after, came commission from you, my Lord Admiral, to take the ship and fish from Captain FLOIRE, which he accordinglie obeyed, and delivered the same to your Lordship's officer, with a very small diminucion.

What became afterwards of the ship and goods Captain FLOIRE protesteth he is ignorant; neither was he inquisytive, because he held himself discharged of anie farther account, uppon receipt of your Lordship's commission. Onelie he hath heard that by the negligence of such as had charge thereof the ship was lyke to perish in harbor, and the fish being removed and landed did begin noisomlie to smell; and so it seemeth some losse was susteined after JOHN FLOIRE was commanded to leave her; himself making no benefytt by the ship or her lading, although they made him great promises of recompence before he rescued them. Besides, he lost the benefitt of his voyage to the Indies; victuelled his ship twise; and is almost undone in seeking their safetie, never receaving penny for his travel,[1] charges, and losse of time.

[1] *travail.*

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1592. Aug. 27.

Thus I make bold to dilate unto your Lordships the particularities at large, because Captain FLOIRE is reputed and known to be my man, and the ship mine wherein he was going to the Indies; yet do I write nothing partyallie, but what shall be confirmed by the testimonies of honest persons. And so do humblie take my leave, the 27th August, 1592.

Your Lordships' humblie att cummandmente,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my verie good Lords, the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admirall of England.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII. TO XXXIV. INCLUSIVE.—*THE PRIVATEERING EXPEDITION OF* 1592, *AND THE CAPTURE OF THE SPANISH CARRACK,* 'MADRE DE DIOS,' *BY RALEGH'S SHIP,* 'THE ROEBUCK.'

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII. TO XXXIV.

1592. July—Oct.

English Privateers and Spanish Prizes.

THE capture of the 'Great Carrack' of 1592, and the proceedings which ensued in relation to the partition of her spoils, have an interest which extends far beyond the mere occurrence itself. It was, in one sense, the most brilliant feat of privateering ever accomplished by Englishmen, even in the days of Queen Elizabeth. It was also a piece of mercantile enterprise,—pregnant with results,—and the history of which throws light, alike on some curious points connected both with our Admiralty law and with the growth of our commerce and colonies, and on several later incidents in the biography of Ralegh himself. The letters which follow will, I think, be found, intrinsically, very readable; but they will be the better understood if a few particulars be first mentioned, in addition to those which have been already noticed in the ninth chapter of the preceding volume.

The Expedition of 1592 was headed by two Queen's ships, and by two admirals. But it was none the less a privateering cruise—in which the Queen was only a chief 'adventurer,' jointly with others,—combined with a plan for an attack on the Spanish settlement at Panama. That colony had been founded by Pedrarias de Avila more than seventy years before. It had already survived great dangers and hardships; but was not destined to be put into any new peril by Ralegh's present enterprise,—which had, eventually, to confine itself to the cruise at sea.

In addition to her two ships, the Queen contributed eighteen hundred pounds in money. This was her whole outlay, beyond

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII. TO XXXIV.

1592. July—Oct.

the sum spent on the repairs of the ships themselves. The citizens of London contributed six thousand pounds towards the outfit of the expedition. The amount adventured by Ralegh is not exactly ascertainable, but it was very large. To Burghley, it will be seen, he stated that he had risked his whole fortune. And it is certain that he borrowed a large sum on interest, expressly for the occasion. His ship, *The Roebuck*, bore the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir John Borough. Carew Ralegh, Walter's brother, sent a ship of 250 tons, manned by 160 men, called *The Galleon Ralegh*.

The Earl of Cumberland had previously fitted out six ships on a privateering expedition of his own; quite independently —at the outset—of the enterprise of Ralegh. How the two came at length into combination will be seen hereafter.

Ralegh's ships were ready for sea in February, but from adverse winds were unable to set sail until April; and then they encountered severe storms. Under the obscure circumstances which have been noticed in Chapter IX. the Admiral himself left the fleet, by the Queen's express and reiterated order, about the middle of May, and divided it into two squadrons; entrusting the command of one squadron to Frobisher, with orders to watch the Spanish coast, and that of the other to Borough, with instructions to cruise about the Azores.

Towards the end of July Sir John Borough met at Flores with two ships of London, and for the purpose of strengthening his squadron made an agreement with their commanders which had some bearing on subsequent transactions. Its terms and tenor were thus expressed:—

"I, Sir John Burrowes, Knighte, and by vertue of her Majestie's commission, Generall of a fleet appoynted for the seas, have consorted, covenaunted, and agreed, and by theis presents doe consorte, covenaunte, and agree, to and wyth Chrystopher Newporte, capitayne of *The Goulden Dragon* of London, a shippe of the borthen of 180 tonne, for himselfe; and on [1] shipp more, of his consortshipp, called *The Prudence*,

[1] *one.*

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of the sayde cittye of London, beinge of the burthen of 100 tonne, to have, possesse, and enjoye, and to be partaker with me and my fleete, and I with them, of all such lawfull pryse and pryses as shalbe taken by me or them, or any of us, jointelie or severally, in sighte or oute of sighte; tunne for tunne, and man for man; from the daye of the date hereof untill the tenth daye of September next."[1] The agreement bears date the 28th of July.

On the day immediately following, whilst Borough in *The Roebuck* was lying close to Flores, a great Portuguese carrack, and a ship of the Earl of Cumberland's fleet which had her in brisk chase, came in sight, bearing directly for the land. All three anchored. Both *The Roebuck* and the Earl's ship were on the point of attacking, when carrack and cruisers were scattered to sea by a sudden storm. When the opportunity recurred, the commander of the *Santa Cruz* obeyed the King of Spain's orders by setting fire to her, as soon as he saw escape to be impossible. But Borough learnt, from one of her crew, the welcome news that other and still more richly-laden carracks were also steering towards Flores, in the expectation of meeting there with their appointed escort of Spanish men-of-war. It was expressly to cut off this escort that Ralegh had placed Frobisher's squadron on the coast of Spain; and the plan had succeeded. Borough's hopes rose high. In the ships of London he had acquired a possibly needful accession of strength. By the junction with the Earl of Cumberland's cruiser, and her expected consorts, the partners in the game came, it seems, to be more than were wished for.

On the 3rd of August the *Madre de Dios* hove in sight. She was an enormous ship, of 1600 tons' burthen, and (all counted) of seven decks. Her length, over all, was 165 feet. She was, in fact, a floating castle, with nearly 800 inhabitants Amongst them were several eminent Spanish governors and functionaries; and many wealthy merchants, going homeward

[1] *Cæsar Papers*, in MS. Lansdowne, lxx. § 20 (British Museum).

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with the fruits of their toil and enterprise in the Indies. Her commander was Don Fernan de Mendoza. Sir John Borough told Lord Burghley that the fight lasted from ten of the clock in the morning until one or two o'clock "at night." But on this point, as on some others, the accounts of eye-witnesses vary. On the respective parts taken in the capture by the ships of the Queen and Ralegh and by those of the Earl, there was, not unnaturally, a very sharp conflict afterwards. The Carrack, says Borough in his despatch, "is very rytche, but mutch spoyled by the sodiers being entred by force; to which yt was not possible for me to geive order, not of a long tyme; for that the Erle of Cumberland's men stood uppon theyr Lord's commyssion, and therby challendged as great a commandement as I, notwithstanding that I mayde yt knowen to the chiefe of them that I was joined in her Majestye's commission with Sir Martyn Furbyssher." The commission here spoken of is one which would seem to have been issued *after* the discovery of what Ralegh calls "my great treasons." From other passages in the despatches it might have been inferred that both Frobisher and Borough were simply to be regarded as Ralegh's lieutenants. "I have nowe," adds Sir John Borough, "taken possession of the carrack in her Majestye's name and ryght, and I hope, for all the spoyle that has beene mayde, her Majestye shall receyve more proffyt by her then by any shipp that ever came into England."

Lord Cumberland's captains varied the story considerably. According to them, both the flagship (Ralegh's *Roebuck*) and the Queen's ship, *Foresight*, were disabled, more or less, during the fight. The Earl's ships, they said, at length "laid the carricke aboord, on both sides, and entred three hundred and sixty men at the least, and after some fight and losse of men, not only surprised and tooke her, but also rescued the *Foresight*."

The *Madre de Dios* had as stormy a passage to England as her captors had had in the voyage outward. She reached Dartmouth on the 8th of September. And then the liberal

"self-help" of the captors was resumed. It had gone very far during the brief interval between the taking of the ship and Borough's arrival on board her, to take possession for the Queen. But at sea it was easier to plunder than to turn the plunder to account. The news of the theretofore unheard-of wealth of a single ship had spread far and wide in England. The Queen's Commissioners made eager haste to the coast. Yet they were anticipated, not only by keen-witted Devonians, but by speculative shopkeepers from London. The ports of arrival looked for many days, says an eye-witness, "like Bartholomew fair." Even the clerk to the Queen's Commissioners expresses compassion for the sailors, on hearing of the unequal encounters between them and the traffickers on shore. He testifies that some of the precious commodities were sold by the buyers, before nightfall and without quitting the town, for five times the price given to those who had made the spoil at peril of life and limb.

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Spanish Prizes and English Privateers.

"Pillage" within certain limits was, at this period, a recognised privilege of captors. What the proper limits were was a question on which sailors and statesmen widely differed. And they differed not less widely as to the time when it should be made. The sailors deemed the moment of victory the right moment for pillage. On this occasion, it was notified by a royal proclamation that no pillage at all was lawful "until the whole lading was brought into port." The proclamation was accompanied by warrants addressed to the bailiffs of the several hundreds adjacent to the coasts of Devon and Cornwall, in which they were directed to see that "all passengers should be stopped, and that all trunks, carriers' packs, hampers, cloak-bags, portmanteaus, and fardells, that are likely to have in them any part of the goods lately arrived in the ports of Dartmouth or Plymouth in a Spanish carrocke, . . . should be stayed and searched."

Among the earliest witnesses examined by the Commissioners at Dartmouth, was a Portuguese officer, named Vincent de Fontesecco, who had been purser of that carrack—the *Santa*

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*Cruz*—which its crew had burnt at Flores, to avoid capture. Fontesecco deposed to his belief that the *Madre de Dios* contained, in precious stones, pearls, amber, and musk, "to the value of 400,000 crusados," and that, amongst these, were "two great crosses and one other great jewel of diamonds which the Viceroy sent for a present to the King." Of such precious merchandise as this, only a very small proportion was recovered, notwithstanding the most stringent measures. "For jewels, pearls, and amber,—I fear that the birds be flown," wrote Robert Cecil to Lord Burghley, almost at the instant of his arrival at Dartmouth, on the 19th of September. But there was a large store of rich commodities less easily disposable. Of spices alone, according to Fontesecco, the *Madre de Dios*, at her sailing, contained no less than 537 tons;[1] and of ebony wood, 15 tons. The tapestries, silk stuffs, and satins of the 'rich carrick' seem to have been in fit companionship with the spices and the hardwoods. There is no need for further details, to explain the wide-spread anxiety—in high and low—to have at least a finger, if not a fist, in the prize. Several months after the arrival of the carrack, the Countess of Bath, wife of the Lord Lieutenant of Devon, had occasion to thank the Judge of the Admiralty, Dr. Julius Cæsar, for some act of courtesy in relation to quite another matter, and she falls incidentally into this naïve reflection: "I send your wife a small token, in show of thankful remembrance; but, had I had anything by this rich carrick, she should have perceived it by my token. *But my Lord's house*[2] *is far off, and so lighted of nothing.*"[3]

Captain Crosse (afterwards knighted at Cadiz, and to be

[1] Namely, 8,500 quintals, or hundredweights, of pepper; 900 quintals of cloves; 700 quintals of cinnamon; 500 quintals of anneal; 50 quintals of mace; 50 quintals of nutmegs, and 50 quintals of benjamin. A note on this deposition, in the hand of Lord Burghley, estimates the pepper as being then worth £12 a quintal, or £102,000 in the whole. (*Cæsar Papers*, in MS. Lansdowne, lxx. § 36.)

[2] Tawstock, near Barnstaple.

[3] MS. Addit. 12506, fol. 88 (British Museum).

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met with elsewhere in these volumes as 'Sir Robert Crosse') carried the Queen's ship, *Foresight*, into Portsmouth Harbour, and enjoyed a quiet and pleasant little interval of five days, between his arrival and the official search of the ship, by order from the Council in London. The search was not very productive. Afterwards, Crosse acknowledged that he had taken out of the carrack spoils to the value of £2,000. Of the examination of Sir John Borough's own chests a curious account will be found in Letter XXXII.

The captain of another ship—the *Dainty*—found it convenient to "come about to Harwich." The Council had not thought it needful to take any such precautions on the coast of Essex and Suffolk as had been taken in Devon and Hants. Certain "verie greate bagges of greate cynamon" found their way, from Ipswich to Lombard Street, just at the time that Sir John Hawkins—to whom the *Dainty* belonged—had explained to Lord Burghley the elaborate measures he had adopted to secure the total abstinence of his own captain and crew from the prevalent offence. When this captain came under examination, he narrated a conversation between himself and Admiral Borough. The *Dainty*, it seems, had lost her mast just after the capture of the carrack, and was driven out to sea. When he was able to rejoin his admiral, he applied for a share in the good things that had been going. Sir John answered: "Proclamation is made; and I am for the Queen." "So am I, too," said Captain Thomson, "as I hope; but is there never a chain of gold, nor apparel?" "I have kept something for you," rejoined Borough, "because you were away." But, to Thomson's disgust, the something was "a common sailor's chest, which had been broken up before." Presently, however, he found means to console himself. The Commissioners, in their letters to Burghley, complain bitterly of the difficulty they found in knowing what and whom to believe or disbelieve. When some unwilling witnesses were reproached with disregarding the sacred obligations of their oath, one of them answered: "Nay, by my troth, we had rather be in the

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII. TO XXXIV.

1592. July—Oct.

hands of God, and trust His mercy, than in the hands of Commissioners that have no mercy."[1]

At this period, the cruises of privateers were commonly adventured on "by the thirds," as it was termed. That is, the owners of the ship had one third part of the value of all captures; the victuallers, another third; the officers and crew, the remaining third. Ships adventuring in company, shared in like proportion, the owners taking in the ratio of the tonnage of their respective ships in consort; the victuallers and crew, in the ratio of the numbers of men on board each consort.

This being borne in mind, the passage in Letter XXVIII.—"If (instead of this £20,000) I had made it £100,000, *and done injury to none but myself*, I hope it may be thought it proceeded from a faithful mind. . . . *Fourscore thousand pounds is more than ever a man presented Her Majesty yet*,"—becomes less enigmatical than it looks at the first glance. The earliest estimate of the worth of the carrack's cargo reached the inordinate sum of half a million (in the money, it is to be remembered, of 1592). Ralegh, much nearer the truth, put it at £200,000. Eventually,—as far as concerns what had been left available, after plunder,—it proved to be but little above £141,000, or some three quarters of a million, in our present currency. Ralegh—adopting, as I suppose, Sir John Borough's account of the circumstances of the capture, as he was bound to do—questioned the fairness of the claim advanced on behalf of the ships of the Earl of Cumberland. The Queen, as a sharer in the original joint adventure of March 1592, he estimated to be entitled, for the tonnage of her ships and her proportion in the joint-stock, to one-tenth of the net proceeds. But, in courtly fashion, he adds that if his own share were large enough,—and no one would lose but himself,—he would willingly quintuple the royal proportion; and so offer for Her Majesty's acceptance "fourscore thousand pounds."

[1] MS. Lansdowne, vol. lxx. § 61.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XXVIII. TO XXXIV.

1592. July—Oct.

In the issue, the Queen took quite sufficient care of herself. Having adventured £1800 out of a joint-stock of £18,000, and having furnished 1150 tons of shipping out of 5,000 tons, she took somewhat more than one-half of the net proceeds of the fortunate adventure. How Sir Walter himself came out of it, he has pithily summed up in Letter XXXIV. But he had subsequent opportunities,—in some of which he fared much better.

## XXVIII.

### TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

As printed by STRYPE (*Annals*, vol. iv. p. 180), from his own transcript of the Original. With some corrections.

LETTER XXVIII.

1592. Sept. (On or before Sept. 15.)

To Lord Burghley. [From the Tower.]

Partition of the Spoils of the '*Madre de Dios.*'

SIR GEORGE CAREW hath dealt with me to know in particular how Her Majesty might be profited by the Carique, according to the offer I made. My promise was not to buy my bondage, but my liberty, and, I hope, of Her Majesty's favour. . . . . Before I heard of the taking of the Carack, I thought not worth the labour [to compute the account of the Voyage]. And myself being the greatest Adventurer, I was contented rather to smother my loss, than labour to publish an hopeless overthrown estate, &c.

Briefly, of 5,000 ton of shipping, Her Majesty hath but 1100. . . . Of £18,000, in money, Her Majesty hath but £1800,[1] for the other £1200[2] was employed on her two ships, as by Sir JOHN HAWKINS'S account will appear. To conclude, Her Majesty's adventure will come but to the tenth part. Which, of £200,000 (such,

[1] Strype, '£1500,' but compare Letter XXXIV., printed from the Original.

[2] Strype, '£1500.'

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1592. Sept.

I think, is the value of the Carack), Her Majesty's part will be £20,000. And I know Her Majesty will not take the right of her subjects from them, contrary to her hand and seal; in consideration, that for her service sake, and the rather for your Lordship's persuasion, they were contented to adventure.

And this is not the last time that Her Majesty shall need their contribution. If Her Majesty had set out the journey of her own charge, it would have cost her £40,000. And now it stood her but in £1800,[1] besides her two ships. Instead of this £20,000 if I had made it £100,000, and done injury to none but myself, I hope it may be thought that it proceeded from a faithful mind, and a true desire to serve Her. Fourscore thousand pounds is more than ever a man presented Her Majesty as yet. If God have sent it for my ransom, I hope Her Majesty of her abundant goodness will accept it. If I speak, with the least, a[2] greater sum;—a greater sum will be more thankworthy. If my imprisonment or my life might do Her Majesty more good, I protest, before God, I would never desire either liberty or further respite of breathing.

And if Her Majesty cannot beat me from my affection, I hope her sweet nature will think it no conquest to afflict me. What her will shall be, I shall willingly obey. And so I humbly take my leave of your Lordship. From this unsavoury dungeon, this . . . of September [1592].

[1] Strype, '£1500.' [2] Misprinted by Strype '1' (one).

## XXIX.

### TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

As printed by STRYPE (*Annals*, vol. iv. p. 182), from his own transcript of the Original, but apparently imperfect.

LETTER XXIX.

1592. Sept. 16.

To Lord Burghley. [On the way to Dartmouth.]

On the partition of the Spoils of the '*Madre de Dios*.'

BY your Lordship's great favour, I have obtained liberty to ride down. I hope it shall be profitable for Her Majesty and a quietness and satisfaction to the rest. . . . Present payment must be made the ships, that they come not under further charge. . . . The ways to profit Her Majesty's cause be in this wise: To take a fifth part of her custom. Secondly, a tenth part or more for her particular adventure. And next, and chiefly, I will put the third part of all into her hands for the mariners: which I did undertake to pay; and of right belongeth unto myself: which will amount to the one half of the Carack. . . . I did bind myself to all the ship's company to pay them; which indeed I did; and confessed to Sir ROBERT CECIL, while I was a prisoner. . . . I will aver, that I undertook on us, in the[1] name and right, who had promised me to save me harmless; hoping of Her Majesty's goodness otherwise. For I protest, before the living God, both my three years' pension of the Custom-house,—which was £6,000,—and all I have besides is in this journey. . . . All the wages of the seamen will not amount to £6,000. For that the third, I doubt not, but will be threescore thousand.

[1] So printed by Strype. Probably the reading should be: "in *her* name and right, who," &c.

## XXX.

## TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

As printed by STRYPE (*Annals*, vol. iv. p. 178), from his own transcript of the Original.

LETTER XXX.
1592. Sept. 17.
To Lord Burghley. From Hartlebury.

MY humble duty remembered. If it please your Lordship to send us by this bearer a commission to examine upon oath as well mariners as townsmen, and all strangers of other places, what hath been bought or sold, I doubt not but we shall find out many things of importance. For the Earl of Cumberland's [ships]—who had the chiefest pillages — arrived at Plymouth, and made port-sale of diamonds, rubies, musk, ambergris, and all other commodities. And not one of the Commissioners ever moved or sent thither; but only sacked my ship, which only attended the Carack, even to the very keelson. The Earl's ships—the *Dainty*, the *Dragon*, the *Foresight*, and the rest—ran from her into several ports, and ever sold all; only my poor men and ship was stripped for her good attendance. And if she had forsaken the Carack as the rest did, she [the carrack] had been cast away.

On proceedings to be taken respecting the Carrack '*Madre de Dios*.'

Also if it please your Lordship to send a commission to Alderman MARTEN and others, to make inquiry into London what goldsmiths or jewellers are gone down, and that at their return they may be examined upon oath, what stones or pearls they have bought, I doubt not but many things will be discovered. If I meet any of them coming up, if it be upon the wildest heath in all the way, I mean to strip them as naked as ever they

were born. For it is infinite that Her Majesty hath been robbed, and that of the most rare things.

LETTER XXX. 1592. Sept. 17.

Whereas I wrote to your Lordship for £2,000, if we load the same ships with the goods, we shall not need to pay but part, and the rest at London. So I think one thousand will serve. Thus, in haste, I humbly take my leave. From Hartelbery, this Sunday morning.

Your Lordship's humbly at commandment,

W. RALEGH.

If it please your Lordship to send commission to myself, Sir JOHN GILBERT, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, Mr. KILLIGREW, Mr. CHRISTOPHER HARRIS, and Mr. PAYDEN, the customer; and TRISTRAM GEORGE,—because none [1] other dwell upon Saltashe river,—we [?[2]] shall be able among their tenants to find out other things.

## XXXI.

### TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

As printed by STRYPE (*Annals*, vol. iv. p. 177), from his own transcript of the Original.

LETTER XXXI. 1592. Sept. 21. To Lord Burghley. [From Dartmouth.] On the Spoils of the '*Madre de Dios*.'

THE particularities of all done your Lordship shall receive from Sir ROBERT CECIL. If the like diligence had been used at Plymouth, where the Earl [of CUMBERLAND]'S ships arrived: at Portsmouth, where the *Foresight* arrived; at Harwich, where the *Dainty* arrived; as hath been here, their value of the Carack would then have resembled itself in some sort. But if the Earl were presented, of voluntary gift, with so many thousands of pearls and diamonds, and these only from

[1] Misprinted by Strype '*some*.' [2] Strype reads '*and*.'

LETTER XXXI.
1592. Sept. 21.

such of his men as were abiding in the Carack, what is to be thought of the rest remaining? His own ships I leave to your Lordship's discretion: and what was unpresented was of some account, if it had been recovered. For mercenary men are not so affectionate or religious, but that they can, with safe conscience, lick their own fingers.

What will be done hereafter, I know not; but I dare give the Queen ten thousand pounds sterling for that which is gained by Sir ROBERT CECIL'S coming down; which I protest before the living God, I speak of truth, without all affection or partiality, for (God is my judge) he hath more rifled my ship than all the rest; and yet she, only, stayed by the Carack, lost most men, most of all spoiled; and only remaineth here under commandment. The rest are gone every one his way. And truly, my Lord, CROSS[1] was most to blame, and dealt lewdly to leave the Carack, and afterwards to steal from Sir MARTIN [FROBISHER]. I have always served him to my power; but his mad behaviour is too insolent in this action. Thus, with remembrance of my duty, I humbly take my leave, and remain most ready to do your Lordship all honour and service.

W. RALEGH.

[1] Robert Crosse, afterwards a captain in the Cadiz expedition, and knighted.

## XXXII.

## SIR ROBERT CECIL, SIR WALTER RALEGH, AND OTHERS, COMMISSIONERS OF INQUIRY AT DARTMOUTH, TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY AND LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD.

From the Original. MS. Lansdowne, lxx. No. 93. (**British Museum**).

LETTER XXXII.

1592. Sept. 27.

Sir R. Cecil, Sir W. Ralegh, and others, to the Lord Treasurer and Lord Admiral. From Dartmouth.

Proceedings of the Commission respecting the '*Madre de Dios*.'

OUR duties to your Lordships most humblie remembred. Althoughe wee have no great matter to write to your Lordships, yet the opportunitie of this messenger makes us bolde to trouble your Lordships, thoughe by our last letters of the xx^th^ wee did aduertize you of our proceedinges, and desired some understandinge of your pleasure whether wee shall be thinke us of unloading the pepper or no, of which, althoughe wee be not yet come to it by one whole decke, yet woulde wee knowe some parte of your Lordships mynde; because here be diverse shippes, as the *Alcedo* and others, being fitt shippes to assure the transportacion, which woulde (if it were not for this seruice) be gone eastwarde to their owners; who shall loose the benefitt of their setting forthe againe, if here (uppon hope of fraughte) they shoulde be commanded to stay and then be disappointed; of which, for the first point, when your Lordships are resolved you may with more deliberacion advize to whom it may be solde, which we leave to your Lordships' consideracion.

Wee have examined Captain CROSSE'S brother, whom the messinger wee did send for him did meet on the way betweene Bridgwater and Exeter; we have examined him uppon theise Interrogatories, and finde no more then here is sett downe. Sir JOHN BOROGHE arryved here yesternighte, whose chests voluntarilie he

LETTER XXXII.
1522. Sept. 27.

hathe shewed, hearing of our diligent searche for them in his absence; and thoughe wee finde them no common chests, yet finding in them nether Pearle, Amber, Stone, Jewell, Hangings, Tapestrie, or riche stuffe, wee have lefte them in his owne keping, bothe because he assured us he had tolde Her Majestie of them, and also because wee finde he thinkes himselfe hardlie dealt withall, being Her Majesties Generall there, and a Gentleman of qualitie, not to be suffred to choose out and send from himselfe some suche present of them as may be acceptable to Her Majestie, to which wee founde reasone to assent, seing they were nothing in them but certaine China Taffataes and Damaskes, with painted Caffard for Quiltes, some Quiltes of White Callicute stitcht, and 2 or 3 parcells of suche white China Taffatae imbrodered with China golde as Mr. CANDISHE broughte home; with certaine course gilt boxes, and a bunch of seede pearle.

Within 3 or iiij. dayes, wee shalbe able to give some estimat of the state of this Carricke, and wee shall knowe whither the iiij. chests spoken of be ether gone or ryfled; which being done, I, ROBERT CECILL, doe purpose to come away, with your Lordships' good favour; and thus for this tyme we most humblie take our leaves.

Ffrom the Tonne of Dartmouthe, the xxvijth of September, 1592.

Your Lordships most humblie to commaund,

RO. CECYLL.
W. RALEGH.
FRA. DRAKE.
WILLM. KILLYGREWE.
RICH. CARM'DEN.
THOMAS MYDDELTON.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable our very good Lords, the Lord Treasuror and Lord Admirall of Englande*

## XXXIII.

## TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY, THE LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD, AND THE LORD BUCKHURST.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. ccxliii. § 89 (**Rolls House**). In the hand of an amanuensis, with autograph subscription and signature.

LETTER XXXIII.

1592. Dec. 13.

To Lord Burghley and others. From Durham House.

On Proceedings pending in the Court of Admiralty.

MY VERIE GOOD LORDS,

I UNDERSTAND by Mr. MIDDLETON of your Lordships' proceedings in the cause between CORSINA[1] and us; and although it be prejudiciall unto us, yet in reguard your Lordships have so prescribed, I am contented to submitt my selfe thereunto. And do humblie pray your Lordships that theis enclosed articles[2] may (if you shalbe so pleased) be performed by such as particularlie are nominated therein by your Lordships' order. Thereby CORSINA is to have the benefytt of making sale of the goods, which are valued at £12,000, and the use of the money, which wilbe worth unto him £3,000. In my opinion, if your Lordships will allow thereof, it were more fytt that the goods might remaine, as presently they do, in sequestracion, untill your

[1] Filippo Corsini, plaintiff in an Admiralty cause respecting the ship '*Uggera Salvagnia*.'

[2] The enclosed "Articles" (eleven in number) referred to in, and returned with, Sir Walter's letter, are both too long and of too little interest to be here printed. The only article in which Ralegh is expressly mentioned runs thus: "And that Sir Walter Rawley, in the behalf of Captain Davies, shall enter into like bonds unto Corsini, in double the value of such goods as the said Davies can be duly charged to have taken forth of the said ship." The date of this Inclosure is 10 Dec. 1592. These articles are followed by a series of charges and answers in the case, also of great length and minuteness.

LETTER XXXIII. 1592. Dec. 13.

Lordships' finall resolucion shalbe known therein, because the venting and dispercing thereof will extenuate the price of the Caracke goods, when they shalbe sold, being all of one nature and kinde; or, that they may be delivered to Her Majesties use, at such rate as they are prized;[1] and so all parties, uppon determinácion of the varyance, to receave their due porcion allotted unto them. If this course shall be deemed requisite, both parties will travell for a speedie end, and Her Highness will be benefited therebye above £3,000; otherwise, they will seeke by protraction of time to delaie an absolute triall and composicion for some of their private lucre. Thus, humblie praying your Lordships' direction therein by this bearer, my servaunt, I take my leave. From Dirrham House, the xiijth of December, 1592.

Your Lordshipps' humble att cummandement,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my verie good Lords, the Lord Thresurer, Lord Admirall, and Lord Buckhurst.*

## XXXIV.

## TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original, in the *Burghley Papers*, 1592. MS. Lansdowne, vol. lxx. No. 94 (**British Museum**).

LETTER XXXIV. 1592. Dec. To Lord Burghley.

THE accompt of the whole charge amounteth to 34,000li. Her Majesty hath giuen order that we shall receue 36,000li. So as there is giuen vs of profytt, 2,000li.

The City of London is to haue 6,000li. profytt by

[1] Appraised.

her Majesties order; then are they to haue her Majesties allowaunce of 2,000li. vppon all, and 4,000li. profitt more, out of the principall. By that meanes we are to lose 4,000li. of our mony disbursed.

To help which we haue 3,000li. of the Queen's; and then we lose but 1,000li. But of that 3,000li. of the Queen's, 1200li. was bestowed on her own ships, to make them perfect. Then there remaineth 1800li. towards the losse of 4,000li.: so as the losse wilbe 2,200li.

In respect hereof, we haue the remaines, and our ships againe: but we are not allowed for our ships in this accompt as they were worth in aduenture, but onelie according to the losse which we sustein by them; and therefore that remain is nothing to vs: for wee take our shipps in part of payment.

The Erle of CUMBERLAND is allowed also 36,000li.; and his accompt came but to 19,000li: so as he hath 17,000li. profytt, who aduentured for himselfe; and we that serued the Queen, and assisted her service, haue not our own again. Besides, I gaue my ship's sayles and cables to furnish the Caraque, and bring her home, or els she had perished: my ship first bourded her, and onely staid with her; and brought her into harborough, or els she had also perished vppon Silley. I was not present, and therefore had no extraordinary profytt: I was the cause that all this came to the Queen, and that the King of Spaine spent 300,000li. the last yere: and I lost in the last yere in the voiage of my Lo. THO. HOWARD 1600li.; besides the interest of 11,000li., which I haue paid euer since this voiage began. And farther, my ship and Sir JO. HAWKINS' that were takers with *The Foresight* of the Queens haue no other allowance then those that were absent: and whereas the City onely disbursed 6,000li., and haue 12,000li. againe, the same being

LETTER XXXIV.
1592. Dec.

Statement of the Charges of the Expedition of 1592; and of the proposed partition of prize money.

LETTER XXXIV. — 1592. Dec.

taken out of the halles of London among a multitude: I that aduentured all my estate, lose of my principall, and they haue double: I tooke all the care and paines; caried the ships from hence to Falmouth, and from thence to the north cape of Spaine; and they only sate still, and did but disburse 6,000li. out of the common store, for which double is giuen to them, and lesse then mine own to me; and to the Earle of CUMBERLOND 17,000li. profytt, who aduentured for himselfe, and I for the Queen.

Endorsed:

*Sir Walter Raleighe's Cawse for the Carick.*

## 1593.

## XXXV.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. fol. 93 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER XXXV. — 1593. May 10. To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne. Progress of the War in Ireland.—Aims of the King of Spain.

SIR,

I AM very sorry for Mr. WILKENSON and the rest, that I here ar lost in the River of Burdens; but for my part I was resolved of the success beforehand, and so miche I told WILLKENSON before his departure. Of this Irish combinaction Her Majestye shall find it remembred to her sealf not longe since; but the Troien Southsayer cast his spear against the wooden horse, but not beleved. I did also presume to speake somewhat how to prevent this purpose; and I thinck it not over hard to be yet donn; and if I had by any chance bynn acquaynted with the Lord BURGH'S instructions, I would have putt you in mynde to have woonne the Earle of Argile rather then all the rest of Skotland; for by

LETTER XXXV.

1593. May 10.

hyme this fier must be only maintained in Ulstell.[1] But for me to speake of the one or the other, I knowe my labors are prejudicate, and I cannot hereafter deserve ether thancks or acceptance. Less then that number men apoynted, I tacke it, will serve the turn, if the garrisons be placed aright to impeach the assemblies, and sume smale pineses ordered to lye between CANTIRRS[2] and ODONELLS Country; but herein the order and the tyme hath most powerë. Ther be also others in Irland that lye in waite, not suspected; which I most feare, and others most able and fitt to make them neglected and discoraged: which smale matters would have hartned to great purpose, as the tyme will better wittness. I had bynn able my sealf to have raysed to or three bands of Inglishe well armed, till I was driven to relinquishe and recale my people; of which the loss shall not be alone to mee, howsoever I am tumbled down the hill by every practize.

We ar so busyed and dandled in thes French warrs, which are endless, as we forgett the defens next the hart. Her Majesty hath good cause to remember that a million hath bynn spent in Irland not many yeares since. A better kingdome might have bynn purchased att a less prize, and that same defended with as many pence, if good order had bynn taken. But the question now may be, whether for so great expence the estate be not less asured then ever? If Her Majestye conseder it aright, she shall fynde it no small dishonor to be vexed with so beggerly a nacion, that have neather armes nor fortificasion; but that acursed kingdome hath always bynn but as a trafique, for which Her Majestye hath paid both fraight and custome, and others receved the marchandize; and other then such shall it never be. The Kinge

[1] *Ulster.* [2] *Cantyre.*

LETTER XXXV.
1593. May 10.

of Spayne seeketh not Irlande for Irlande, but havinge raysed up troops of beggers in our backs, shall be able to inforce us to cast our eyes over our shoulders, while thos before us strike us on the braynes. We have also knowne the levell of his subversion; but destiney is stronger than councell; and good advice, ether neglected or weakly executed, hath tought our enemis to arme thos parts which before lay bare to the sworde. Prevention is the doughter of Intelligence, which cannot be borne without a mother; and the good wooman hath so many patrons, as the one referreth her cherishinge to another's trust, and in the meanwhile shee liveth baren and frutles.

Sir, thes poore Countris yeild no newse. I here of a frigott that taketh up fishermen for pilatts in the West. I am my sealf here at Sherburne, in my fortun's folde. Wherever I be, and while I am, yow shall cummande me. I thinck I shall need your furder favor for the litle parke, for Law and Conscience is not sufficient in thes days to upholde me. Every foole knoweth that hatreds are the cinders of affection, and therfore to make me a sacrifize shall be thanksworthye. Sir, I pray remember my duty to my Lord Admirall, and to your father, if it please yow.

From Sherburne, this 10th of May [1593].

Your's most asured to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I am the worse for the Bath, and not the better.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CICILL, *Knight, of her Majestie's most honorable Privy Councell.*

Endorsed:

10 *Maii*, 1593. *Sir Walter Rawley to my Master.*

## XXXVI.

## TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. fol. 100 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription, signature, and postscript in autograph. [See Vol. I. pp. 94—103.]

LETTER XXXVI.

1593. June 15.

To Lord Burghley. From Durham House, London.

Enterprise of preparing and exporting Pipe-staves from Munster.

MY HONORABLE GOOD LORD,

BY reason of your Lordship's letters and the rest of the Lords of Her Majesties Privie Councell, written to the Lord Deputie and Councell of Ireland, for a restraint of transportacion of Pipestaves out of that Realme to the Islands, we have a great quantitie of barrell and hogshead bords alreadie cutt and made which, for want of venting and expending, will rott uppon the ground, if we maie not receave some order for their utteraunce. Besides, we must be forced to draw home a great number of able men from thence which are appointed to serve Her Majestie with their weapons uppon anie occasion, which will prove to be a great weakening of the province of Munster.

Wherefore, if it please your Lordship,—for the keeping and enterteyning of theis men in worke, which otherwise cannot live there; and for venting of this commoditie, which must needs perish if longer staie be made of them there,—to write to the Lord Deputie and Councell, that, according to your Lordship's meaning signified in your former letters, we maie be licensed to transport from thence into England such barrell and hogshead bords as we have made, and maie be sparde out of our own woods; the rather, because

LETTER XXXVI. — 1593. June 15.

those of the west countrie here have great want of this caske, we will putt in such bords to Her Majesty's use, before th' officers of the ports where they are to be laden, as are required in your Lordship's said letters, for th' assured transporting thereof into England and to no other place. And so I most humblie take my leave. From Dirrham House, the xvth of June, 1593.

Your Lordship's for ever to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—For the bringinge of caske[1] into Ireland, I hope wee shall rather deserve thankes, then that wee shall need to make any great sutes for it. Yet, so mich it hath pleased the Deputye to malline[2] my particuler, as I know, without your Lordshipp's heulpe, yeven so mich will hardly be afforded. I do humblie desire your Lordship to favor mee so mich as to writ your Lordship's own letteres unto hyme that I may receve justice at his hands; and, acknowledging my sealf only bound and susteyned by your Lordship's goodnes, I wishe your Lordship eternall health, and humblie take my leave.

[1] So in MS.; meaning obviously 'the bringing in of cask-*making*.'

[2] *I. e.* malign. This doubtful word is so written that it ought, perhaps, to be read 'mallice.'

## XXXVII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiii. fol. 31 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription and signature in autograph.

LETTER XXXVII.

1593. Aug. 15.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

On behalf of one Kelly, a Merchant of Dartmouth.

SIR,

I AM earnestlie entreated by my brother, Sir JOHN GILBERT, to write unto you in the behalfe of Mr. KELLEY, a marchant of Dartmouthe, his very honest freind; and because his and my perswasion may the better prevaile in his behalfe, I have sent you, as well his letter to testefie the honest behavior of the gentleman, as my servant HANCOCKE, to certifie the truth according to my brother's mocion.

The matter importeth the deliverie of a letter, sent from KELLIE'S factor; sent by NICHOLAS FITZHARBERT; written to THOMAS FITZHARBERT.

The letter, uppon the deliverie to Mr. FITZHARBERT, was openly read and nothing found therein either offensive to the Estate or to any particuler person, as your Honnor, if you please, maie at large understand. Sir JOHN GILBERT wilbe bound for him in a thowsand pounds, and I will undertake for his honest cariage and demeanoure. And because you shalbe the better perswaded of his integritie and good affection to the Queen's Majestie, and the opinion conceaved of him by his neighbors, I have sent you my brother's letter to testefie the same. I beeseech your Honnor therefore not to suffer anie wrongfull informacions to prevaile against him; and to give order for his dispatch, as

LETTER XXXVII. 1593. Aug. 15.

soone as your Honnor shall think convenient; that I may by this bearer understand some newes. And so I committ your Honnor to the tuicion of th' Almightie.

From Sherborn Castle, xvth of August, 1593.

Ever to do yow honor and service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I have sent HANCOCKE chiefelie to understand some newes, and to see yow; and to certefie mee the rest at his return.

## XXXVIII.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiii. fol. 41 (**Hatfield**). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription, signature, and postscript in autograph.

LETTER XXXVIII. 1593. Aug. 27.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Gillingham Forest.

Enterprise of preparing and exporting Pipestaves from Munster.

SIR,

YOU know our long suite to the Lords of Her Majesties Privie Councell for the continuance of transportation of Pipestaves out of Ireland to the Islandes, according to Her Majesties graunt by Her Letters Patents under the Great Seale. Master PINE, as I understand, is now at Court to sollicite your Honnor and the rest, in our behalfe, for a dissolucion of the restraint procured by the Lord Deputie's letters, upon his supposicion of some enormities and surmised inconveniences which thereby will need ensue.

I beeseech your Honnor to fauvor our proceedings therein, and to assist us, as much as you maie, for the obteyning of our suite; and if you please to acquaint

LETTER XXXVIII. 1593. Aug. 27.

my Lord Admiral with my poore request, I doubt not but his Lordship will farther so honest a mocion.

If their Lordships would be pleased thoroughlie to consider the state of the cause, and have patience to peruse the contents of our demaund (which Master PINE will shew your Honnor, in all points, according to the truth), they wold assuredlie allow of our trade to the Islands, and conceave better of those which undertake the same. And so I humblie take my leave.

From Gillingham Forrest, the 27th of August, 1593.

Your Honor's humblie att cummandment,

W. RALEGH.

The Falconry at Gillingham.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Sir, The Indian falcon is sike of the buckworme; and therfore, if yow wilbe so bountefull to geve another falcon, I will provide yow a roning geldinge.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECIL, *Knight, one of her Majesties most honorable Privie Councell.*

Endorsed:

27 *Aug.* 1593. *Sir Walter Rawley to my Master.*

## XXXIX.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiii. fol. 77 (**Hatfield**). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription, signature, and postscript in autograph.

LETTER XXXIX. 1593. Oct. 8.

SIR,

THIS gentleman, Mr. JOHN WOLLRIDGE, hath been written unto by my Lord Threasurer, about the deliverie of a ward, his wives sonne. If he shall have nede of

LETTER XXXIX.
1593. Oct. 8.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Weymouth.
In favour of the bearer, John Wollridge, who had a matter pending in the Court of Wards.—News of Rimonde.

your Honnors fauvor therein,—which he is able himselfe lawfullie to aunswere, except he be overborn by his adverse partie,—I praie you, in reguard of the honestie of the gentleman and of the desire he hath to deale indifferentlie and uprightlie, to assiste him so farre that he maie receave no hard measure. And so I humblie take my leave.

From Weymouth, the 8th of October, 1593.

Your Honor's to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Sir, I have written to my Lord Admirall the newes of Rimonde att large. From whom I pray yow to be acquaynted. This bearer, WULREDGE,—being sent for by my Lord, your father,—was here stayde sumewhat longer to examyne a cawse of the Admiraltye, so as I beseich yow to excuse hyme.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, one of her Majesties most honorable Privie Councell.*

Endorsed:

8 *Oct.* 1593. *Sir Walter Rawley to my Master.*

## XL.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. fol. 49 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER XL.
1593-1594. Feb. 25.

SIR,

THIS gentelman, HENRY THYNNE, without sending for is cum up to aunswere the cumplaynt of the Frenshmen, for [which] my brother was lately called before yow. Hee was an adventurer in that journey, and lost

all. For the fishe prize, hee did nothing but by cummission, and hath accompted for the same.

I beseich yow to favour hyme this mich, that hee be not charged with more than hee receved, and [that] he may have tyme till the next terme to bring in the accompt, which now resteth in other mens hands; and, in the meantyme, no hard dealing be offered hyme.

I shall think my sealf mich bound unto yow for any favor yow shall afford hyme, and so, being allwayes your servant to be cumanded, I humblie take my leve.

W. RALEGH.

From Sherburne Castell, this 25 of February [1593-4].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, one of her Majesties most honnorable Privy Councell.*

Endorsed:

25 *Feb.* 1593 [legal style]. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master; in favour of Captain Henry Thynne.*

LETTER XL.

1593-1594. Feb. 25.

From Sherborne.

In favour of Henry Thynne, whose proceedings at sea had been complained of by the French.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XLI.—*THE BARRYS OF BARRY'S COURT, AFTERWARDS EARLS OF BARRYMORE.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XLI.

The Barrys of Barry's Court.

IT was, at all times of life, a characteristic of Ralegh's mind that no illusive pride of "consistency" hindered either his acknowledgment of error, or his advocacy, when dealing with business, of wiser counsels than those which on imperfect knowledge he had himself previously given. We have seen, in the letters with which this volume begins, that at an early stage of his concern with Irish affairs he had counselled severity towards the half-hearted men who were not quite ready either to throw themselves fairly into the rebellion, or to cast their lot with the Queen's decided supporters. Of such men was Lord Barry. Ralegh had himself seized Barry's Court. Perhaps his own personal intercourse with its owner may have helped to convince the half-rebel of the wisdom of becoming a wholly loyal subject. At all events, the very man whom Ralegh had strongly denounced, he now as strongly commends. And there is ample evidence that the commendation was merited. Lord Barry and his family rendered honourable and brilliant service to the Crown in Ireland.

The Barrys, of Barry's Court, in the county Cork, have a famous ancestry and a curious family history. The stock, one vigorous branch of which came to its death, or almost to its death, in a recent "Earl of Barrymore" of very unenviable notoriety, was itself an offshoot of a race of Welsh princes, already of a respectable antiquity in the twelfth century. David Fitzjames Barry, Viscount Buttevant (the "Lord Barry" of Ralegh's letter), was lineally descended from an elder brother (Philip de Barri) of Giraldus Cambrensis. Philip, Barry's ancestor and the founder of the Irish house, was there-

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XLI.

fore a grandson of the "Princess Nesta," by her first marriage with Gerald de Windsor, Constable of Pembroke.[1]

Lord Barry adhered very faithfully to Queen Elizabeth in the trying times that immediately preceded her death, and also to her successor. Several of his sons died in the field for the same cause; and in succeeding generations many of his and their descendants were equally conspicuous for loyalty to Crown and country.

The builder of Barry's Court was also—it is more than probable—the founder of that house of Dominicans at Cork, part of the ancient possessions of which were, I believe, included (among other forfeited Geraldine lands) in Ralegh's Irish estate, under the grant of 1585.

## XLI.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. fol. 52 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription and signature in autograph.

LETTER XLI.

1593-1594. March 4.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Dorchester.

Affairs of Ireland.

SIR,

THIS honorable gentleman, the Lord BARRY, one that is well affected to her Majesty and her Estate, is in humble suite to her Majesty, and hath entreated my letter to your Honnor that such fine or benefitt as FLORENCE MACCARTY hath by graunt obteined from her Majesty, by reason of his former offence in Ireland (which is well knowen to your Honnor), may be again revoked and remitted.

[1] Compare Giraldi Cambrensis *Expugnatio Hibernica*, edit. Dymock, vol. v. pp. 351 *seqq.* (*Chronicles and Memorials*), with *Monasticon Hibernicum*, § Cork.

LETTER XLI.

1593-1594. March 4.

Recommends Lord Barry; and asserts that Florence MacCarty is not sincerely reconciled to the English rule.

And if my opinion herein maybe reguarded, I thinke that his[1] pardon which her Highnes graunted him hath wrought his true affection, and his entire disposicion to honnor and serve her Maiesty with such unfeined obedience as can be required; and therfore not fitt to be discountenanced by FLORENCE MACCARTY, [he] being a man reconciled to the Pope, daungerous to the present State, beloved of such as seeke the ruine of the Realme his native cuntrie, and not worthie to bee relieved by her Maiesties goodnes. He maie for a time dissemble, and in revealing his poverty, by occasion of his imprisonment in the Tower, protest that obedience which he ought to performe: but he is not to be trusted. His alliance and friends in Ireland are great and manie, and he wanteth nothing but mony to execute his practices, whereunto the Pope hath animated him.

This noble gentleman[1] hath, to my knowledg, a long time lived civilly and conformablie to all her Majesties directions and commandments, and hath not deserved theis troubles and discontentments. I praie you so much to favour him by yourself, or by the meanes of my honorable good Lord, your father, that hee maie bee discharged of this demaund; and I will reckon it amongst the rest of your favours. And so I humblie take my leave.

From th' assises at Dorchester, the 4th of March, 1593.

Your Honor's humblie att cummandment,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, one of her Majesties most honnorable Privy Councell.*

Endorsed: "4 *Mar.* 1593. *Sir Walter Raulegh to my Master. Lord Barry.*" And, in another hand: "*To recommend Lord Barry.*"

[1] Lord Barry, the bearer of this Letter. See Letter IV.

## XLII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxvi. fol. 25 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER XLII.

1594. April 14.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

Capture of a Jesuit in the house of Lady Stourton.

SIR,

THIS night, the 13th of Aprill, wee have taken a notabell Jesuite in the Lady STORTON'S house,—wife to old Sir JOHN ARUNDELL,—with his copes and bulles. Ther hath bynn keipt in this house, as I have formerly informed, you above thirty recusantts.

Sir GEORGE TRENCHERD, Sir RAUFE HORSEY, and my self ar now ryding to take his examinacion, which, by the next, you shall receve att large. Sir GEORG and Sir RAUFE have used great dillegence in the fynding of this notable knave.

Being in hast, I do for the present humblie take my leve. From Sherburne, this 14th of Aprill [1594].

Your's, ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Hee calls hyme sealf JOHN MOONEY, but hee is an Irishman and a notabell stout villayne; and I thinke can say miche.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very good frinde, Sir* ROBERT CECELL.

Endorsed:

14 *Apr.* 1594. *Sir Walter Rauleigh to my Master. John Moone, a Jesuite, taken in the Lady Sturton's house.*

## XLIII.

### TO THE LORD KEEPER, THOMAS EGERTON;

*(Afterwards Viscount Brackley.)*

From the Original. MS. Harl. 6696, fol. 132 (British Museum). In the hand of an amanuensis. Subscribed and signed.

LETTER XLIII.

1594. May 2.

To the Lord Keeper. From Sherborne.

Proposing the removal of a cause, *Denshire* v. *Stevens*, from the Star Chamber to the Stannary Court.

MY VERIE GOOD LORD,

THERE hath been a subpena graunted out of the Star Chamber for the appearance of one THOMAS WHITFORD and WILLIAM DOBB before your Lordship and the rest of her Majesty's most honorable Privie Councell, for verefying their knowledg in a Stannery Court, as witnesses in an action uppon the case between one DENSHIRE and STEVENS. The triall and penaltie of the offence, if any shalbe proved, is to be censured in her Majesties absolute jurisdiction of the Stannery; and her Majesty hath been pleased of late, uppon complaint by me made unto her, to signifie to my honorable good Lord the Lord Treasurer, that the Stannery authoritie shall consist and continue, according to the auncient custome and prerogatives, and not to be contradicted by private censure; and that all abuses uppon my informacion shalbe presentlie reformed. I thinke your Lordship is not thoroughlie acquainted herewith, because a Stannery cause is suffred to be prosecuted in that Court; and therefore I am bold to putt you in mind thereof, and to praie you to dismisse the same out of the Starre Chamber, to be tried in the

Stannuries, where it is determinable. And so I humblie take my leave.

LETTER XLIII.

1594. May 2.

From my Castle at Sherborn, the second of May, 1594.

Your Lordshipp's most humblie att cummandment,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England.*

Endorsed:

*Sir Walter Rawley. For pleas*[1] *in the Stannarye sued in the Star Chamber.*

## XLIV.

## TO THE LORD ADMIRAL HOWARD.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxvii. fol. 8 (Hatfield). Holograph.

MY HONORABLE GOOD LORDE,

LETTER XLIV.

1594. June 21.

To the Lord High Admiral. From Sherborne.

News of the Spanish Fleet.

YOUR Lordshippe may perceve, by the intelligence sent by my brother, bothe of the strenghte of the Spanishe fleet as also of their reddiness to sett sayle. The master hyme sealf, which was taken out of Dartmouth, is returned. The intelligence your Lordship had before was from too of his men which weare sett free; but this master, called MAKERELL, is a man of good judgment, and very honest. If your Lordship consider, too things especially[2] . . . in this intelligence: first, that sume surprize is purposed by the hast,—for

[1] This reading is doubtful, the word being nearly illegible.

[2] So in MS., the verb being wanting. Probably, the word 'appear,' or some equivalent, was intended after 'especially.'

LETTER XLIV.
1594. June 21.

Desire to serve under the Admiral against Spain.

the carpenters and all other about the fleet worke the Saboth dayes; next, the hugeness of the shipps, which must neads cary many soldiers, or else lesser vessells weare farr fitter for the coast of Bryton.[1]

Ther ar also many shipps taken of ours; sume of good burden, but all of good wealth; as may appeare by the report sent the Lords.

How the Spaniards have proceeded about Brest, your Lordship may also understand by this report: First, havinge receved no impeachment, they have finished the fortifications at Old Croydun,—which your Lordship well knowes is within the port of Brest,—and the better to cumand the haven, they have also built a stronger peere at the very entraunce. Now, if it pleas your Lordship to pardon mee, I pray remember that their[2] wilbe no entraunce for the Queen's fleet, what weather so ever happen; for Blewatt, and Brest, and Belsho ar theirs. The Spanishe shipps ar huge; wherof eyght ar betwen 800 and 1000 toones; 10 shipps more, of good burden; divers galles, and full filde with soldiers. I hope also that your Lordship will remember it is the Queen's honor and saufty to assaile and not defende. And, for ought I here, your Lordship's fleet wilbe far to weake.

I hope your Lordship will take my remembrance in good part. And if your Lordship will vouchsaife [to ask] her Majesty for me to attend you privatly in her service, I hope I shall stand your Lordship in the place of a poore marriner or soldier. I have no other desire but to serve her Majestye. And seinge I deserve nor place, nor honor, nor rewarde, I hope it wilbe easely graunted,—if I be not condemned to the grave; no libertye nor hope left that ether tyme or the geving of

[1] Brittany. [2] *there.*

my life may recover, or be a sacrifice for, my offences. I hope your Lordship will not forgett my desire, or that I am evermore

Your most assured poore kynsman to serve you,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 21 of June [1594].

LETTER XLIV.
1594. June 21.

Addressed:
*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord Admirall of Inglande, in haste.*

Endorsed [erroneously, being in the hand of a clerk to Sir Robert Cecil]:
21 *Junii*, 1594. *Sir Walter Rauleighe to my Master.*

## XLV.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxvii. fol. 46 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. The address is in the hand of an amanuensis.

LETTER XLV.
1594. July 20.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.
News of the Spanish Fleet.—Cornish Miners for Ireland.—Intended expedition to Brittany.

SIR,

IT seemeth that the late advertisement of the Spanishe preparacions is now confirmed, and this last weeke ther weare three great Spanishe men of warr, that gave chace to an Inglishe shipp and her too prizes, and drave them yeven to the very mouth of Dartmouth. It is likely that all our Newfounland men wilbe taken up by them if they be not speedely driven from the coast, for in the beginninge of August our Newland[1] fleet ar expected, which ar above a hundred sayle. If thos should be lost, it would be the greatest blow that ever was geven to Ingland.

I beseich you to remember my leve to go privatly

[1] So in MS.

LETTER XLV. 1594. July 20.

with my Lord Admirall. I may perchance do her Majestye sume service.

I am now preparynge thos 50 myners for which I had direction. But if her Majesties letter had left it att large, as well for Devon as Cornwale, Devon may better spare men then Cornwale. But I am now tyed by the letter to Cornwale, which hath fewer men and is nirer the enemye. I pray, Sir, vouchsaufe me a lyne or too how things go on, and who goes for Britayne.[1]

Thus, evermore bound to honor and serve yow, I take leve.

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 20th of July [1594].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, one of her Majesties most honorable Privie Councell.*

Endorsed:

20 *Julii*, 1594. *Sir Walter Rauleighe to my Master.*

## XLVI.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxvii. ff. 101, 102 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER XLVI. 1594. Aug. 25. To Sir R. Cecil. From the Coast.

SIR,

I BESEICH yow to geve me leve to trobell yow a littell with my particuler, because it concerns all the poore estate I have. The priests of Sallisburie have signed and sealed the fee-farmes more to benefite one

[1] Brittany.

LETTER XLVI.

1594. Aug. 25.

Private affairs.—Dealings of the Dean and Chapter of Sarum with Fitz-James.

FITS-JAMES, who hath geven them a good fine, then any way to satisfye or releve mee. They have stoode uppon scrupell of conscience to yeilde any thinge to Her Majestye; but,—without her letters, without her cummandements,—they have past £50 land to another, and in suche sorte as myne must be voyde unless that £50 land pass also. For they have geven myne upon condiscion that the other shall pass withall, or else both to be voyde. This[1] bravely they dare to tye the Queen to do what they injoyne, or else they refuse to do what she commands.

Now this wilbe the culler of this insolency,—that unless FITS-JAMES have his fee-farme, the Church shalbe in danger to lose £50 rent. But it is meerely false; for, if by any trick in law FITS-JAMES may pretende to defraud the Church of that rent, yet it was never ment to be so; and therfore the Chancery will inforce hyme by a decree att the first motion. And, if that should be doubted, I will undertake to assure that rent my sealf. This FITS-JAMES is a smooth knave as any leveth, and a false; and hee offers mee £200 for my good will. Butt, first, I gave the Queen a jewell worth £250 to make the byshope;[2] I. must geve £60 land to the Churche, for ever, of increas,—which will cost mee £1200 more; the charges will cume to £250 more, which is demanded. And, when all this is spent, I am not one farthinge the better, butt the assurance of my estate only; which I purchase att a most terribell rate.

I am sure, if I weare a Turke I could not be worss dealt withall then I am by them, who have dun nothinge for Her Majesties sake butt rackt mee yeven asunder; and, notwithstanding, have past to another £50 land,—better then all Sherburne,—for their own profitt, and to

[1] For *thus*.

[2] John Caldwell, 'elected' in 1591.

LETTER XLVI.
1594. Aug. 25.

satisfye their frinde. And, if it had not bynn for his sake, they would never have past myne; and so it apeereth: for they pass myne butt on condiscion that his shall pass withall, or else both to be voyde.

Sir, if you please, but a littell to consider, both of the charge they putt mee to; how ernestly Her Maiesty hath dealt for me; how hardly they use mee; how undewtifully they dare to condiscion with the Queen; how, agaynst all presedent that ever was, they pass £50 land of[1] their own handes,—which never any Church did, uncummanded by the Prince; I hope you may favor mee so mich,—uppon thes advantages,—as ether to cumpell them to graunt myne alone; or else that FITS-JAMES may ease mee in my charges in a more liberall kynde, which—of the too—I desire rather. For if by sute, or by sume frinde in the Privy Chamber, hee shall obtayne his passage from the Queen, then shall I lose that which he offereth mee, and have it carried more to my disgrace. And therfore, if I could draw hyme to healp toward my charges, I had rather it should pass by mee then by another.

On the other syde, I hope, by this advantage of the Byshope and Chapter, that I may be freed for this increas of rent during myne own life, [or] att least during the Byshop's, who, I hope, will easely be perswaded to spare mee for his tyme. But I desire that this graunt may be inroled to the Queen, before any speach b made att all, and then, when it is in Her, perchance Master Aturney will finde a waye to frustrat that condiscion, as sure as they think they have made it. Sir, if you think we may cum bake in tyme, after it is inrold to the Queen I could wish it rested ther; unless my wife be satisfied by FITS-JAMES to her likinge.

[1] *off.*

LETTER XLVI.

1594. Aug. 25.

[*What follows appears to have been added somewhat later.*]

Sir, we are here att the Forelande, and purpose to cum over for the French coast as soon as we can. Butt I feare that wee shall have a wanton peece of work with thes shipps att this tyme of the yeare; and, if wee tarry longe, putt them so out of order, if not in danger, as they will hardly be reddy for the next yeare, when we shall have more use of them. My Lord Admirall knowes that if the wind blow att South, South-West, or South-South-West, and blow strong,—as it will do now every day,—that wee must then needs ride at ancor in the Downs; and if wee be driven to shift roades in the dark night here amonge the sands, how perrelous it may prove; butt we leve it to your wisedomes. Sure I am att this tyme of the yeare we can do no service, unless the enemy cum for the Themes mouthe; and if hee dare enter it with his shipps hee shall do more then wee dare do, but with that feare, deliberation, and tyme, as no enemy can do the like; nor ever pass up, while the world stands, unless he cume in the beast[1] of summer, and have galles[2] to sound the Chanell, which now he cannot have for this yeare.

For our instructions, I beseich yow they may be certayne, for else great advantage may be taken of us: I mean for goinge westwarde; wherof I now begin to be afearde, finding the unweildenes of thes shipps, in which I shall never sleap night, if I be here till Chrismass.

Yours ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

25 August [1594].

Endorsed, in a different hand from that of the usual endorsements on the letters of this period: "*Sir Walter Rawleigh.*" Without superscription, or date of the year.

[1] *best.* [2] *galleys.*

## XLVII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxviii. fol. 40 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER XLVII.

1594. Sept. 20.

To Sir R. Cecil. From the Coast.

Preparations for the Guiana Voyage. — The plague at Sherborne.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH EATON'S shipp be gonn, yet the letter will do no harme, for I may be frynded of hyme in sume thinges I want. Your own I have returned. And I can say no more, but what good shall happen in Ingland, or in India or elsewhere, so God favor mee as I take it and confess it to be of your most honorable frindshipps towards mee; and how much for such respect I may be bound you know, and which I will acknowledg and performe, to the end of my life. So, with my humble dewtye to my Mistris, I leve, and I am ever your servant,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I had a post this morning from Sherburne. The plaugue is in the town very hote. My Bess is on one way sent; hir sonne, another way; and I am in great troble therwithe.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CICILL, *Knight, of Her Maiesties most honorable Privy Councell.*

Endorsed:

20 *Sept.* 1594. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.*

## XLVIII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lviii. § 52 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Wholly undated. The Hatfield Catalogue assigns this letter, by oversight, to 1597.

LETTER XLVIII.

1594? Sept. ?

To Sir Robert Cecil. Written at sea.

Delays of an expedition by stormy weather.

I AM sorry to be now so nire that my letters may cum to your hands. But this unfortunate yeare is such as thos that weare reddy and att sea too moneths before us ar beaten bake agayne and distressed. This longe staye hath made mee a poore man, the yeare farr spent, and what shalbe cum of us God knowes. The boddy is wasted with toyle; the purse with charge; and all things worne. Only the mind is indifferent to good fortune or adversety.

Ther is no newes from hence worth the writtinge. If I weare more fortunate, I should be the more worth the cummandinge; as I am, yow may dispose of mee; and thus, for the present, I leve yow to all good fortune, and my sealf *quo me Fortuna retrudet.*

Yours ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I pray be gracious to my frends in my absence, and not too credulous. And further that yow wilbe pleased, if any of my officers be suters unto yow in my behalf, that you will vouchsafe your favor towards them. I pray excuse mee to my Lord your father; havinge nothinge worth his reeding to write of.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBARD CECILL, *Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed: "*Sir Walter Rawley.*"

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## XLIX.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxix. fol. 44 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER XLIX.
1594. Dec. 21.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.
Loss of a letter which had fallen into the hands of Essex.—Lawsuits.

SIR,

MY carelessness in loosinge the coppy of the letter I cannot excuse, butt it concernd no boddy butt my sealf, and therfore the less matter. Butt how it came to the Earle's [1] hand I beseiche you lerne by sume means; that I may butt know wher it weare lost, or otherwise imbeseled. What you have vouchsaufed for the stay of my sutes in law, especially for the widdo SMITH, I humblie pray you to lett me know, for I stay butt for the winde to bringe about the shipp. I shall be wiser one day, and I shall withall, I hope, do you sume service, after so many of thes troblesome affaires. Till then, and ever, I shalbe your debtor and most your's of all livinge,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 21 of December [1594].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CICILL, *Knight, of Her Maiesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

21 *Dec.* 1594. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.*

[1] Earl of Essex.

## L.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxix. fol. 53 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER L.

1594. Dec. 26.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

In favour of a page, who desires to serve Cecil.—Delay of Guiana expedition by contrary winds.

SIR,

I AM so importuned by this bearer as I cannot refuse hyme to write unto you. His desire is to retayne towards you. What your disposicion hath bynn in thes thinges I know well, but hee will not be otherwise aunswered att my hands. I would be gladd he would sew to serve the Earle of Essex, to which I have persuaded hyme. I hope to here how you do, and, for my sealfe, this wynde breakes my hart. That[1] should cary mee hence now stayes mee heere, and holds 7 shipps in the river of Temes. As soone as God send them hither, I will not lose one houre of tyme. Ever anxious to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 26 of December [1594].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CICILL, *Knight, of Her Maiesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

26 *Dec.* 1594. *Sir Walter Ralcighe to my Master. In fwour of Charles, that was sometyme his page.*

[1] In the sense of '*that which.*'

## LI.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxix. fol. 61 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER LI.

1594. Dec.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Alresford.

Private affairs: Lawsuit with Mrs. Smith.—Proposal for a restraint of shipping.

SIR,

YOU must esteeme me for your yevell spirritt that haunts you thus with so many tedius busineses. I could not dispach with that debt of SYMSON'S for the widoe SMITHE. She hath a sonn that waytes on the Keper, and her doughter maried Mr. WILKES, so as it wilbe the harder to clère. Yet, seeing I am butt a suretye for SPILMAN, and never borrowed penny of her, it hath the more reason. If it be not stayde, all that I have wilbe taken uppon the execusion in my absence. And, if she will not geve longer day, I thinke the next way wilbe that the Shirrif of Dorsett be cummanded to execute no write upon me in that countrey. For although they can do no good, by reason all the intrest is in my soonn, yet the discreditt wilbe great if I be driven to shew that conveance; and besyds, by that means my wife will know that shee can have no intrest in my livinge, and so exclayme. On this all my estate dependeth, and the Queen, having refused all other graces, I hope will save me yet from the ruin of others. I leve it and my sealf to your honorable constant care on whom I only depend and love above all, and it is all I cann saye.

Your constantlye and sinserely to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—It is more then tyme that ther be a restraynt of all shippinge bound out to the warrs; for

LETTER LI. 1594. Dec.

ther ar multetuds going for the Indies. If any men be taken (as sume every yeare ar) the Queen's purpose wilbe frustrate. And if EATON'S shipps go, who will attempt the chefest places of my enterprize, I shalbe undun; and I know they wilbe beaten and do no good.

From Alsford, this Saterday after I left you, with a hart half broken.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CICILL, *Knight, of Her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.*

Endorsed:

*Dec.* 1594. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.*

## LII.

## TO SIR JOHN GILBERT.

From a MS. copy of the Original, made for its then possessor, the late MACVEY NAPIER, Editor of the *Edinburgh Review.*

LETTER LII. 1594? To Sir John Gilbert. On a levy of mariners; apparently for the Guiana expedition.

BROTHER,

WHER by my last letters directed vnto yow concerninge the levieing of sailoris and marrineris I gave direction that they should be readie against the xv$^{th}$ of this moneth at Dartmouth, which I am now thorowe manie vrgente occasions constrained to deferr; herebie prainge yow to haue speciall care that they be levied from places least infected, and to be readie at Dartmouth the twentith daie of this present moneth to tak shippinge. I have sent money by LUSKOMBE for ther conduct: I praie supplie anie thing necessarie that is wanting; I will see that annswered at my cominge about. I haue likewise sent by him proclamations to be proclaimed with yow and sent vnto my servaunt

LETTER LII. 1594?

RICHARD SMITH into Cornwall, or to Sir WILLIAM BEVILL to be delivered vnto SMITH, with all spede (if I be at charge of sending a fote man of purpose). And heirof I desire yow to haue care first that good and sufficient menn be ymprested and ther names taken, and then that yow cause the proclamation to be published, and not before; for that the best sort will absent themselves, not having received the prest before, and to write the like direction vnto SMITH, and appoint him to be likewise readie at Falmouth at the same daie with the Cornishe menn. And so, commending me vnto yow, I comytt yow to God.

Your lovinge Brother,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I praie lett LUSCOMB have the levienge of the menn in Devon; or, if they be alreadie ymprest, if he know menn of better sufficiency, to ymprest them anew, and leave out some of the worse sort for them alreadie ymprest.

Addressed:

*To my verie loving brother, Sir* JOHN GILBART, *Knight, theise.*

## 1595.

## LIII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiv. fol. 76 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER LIII. 1594-1595. Jan. 2.

SIR,

THIS gentleman, my especiall frinde and kynsman, hath sume controversye with the towne of Ply-

LETTER LIII.

1594-1595. Jan. 2.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

Recommending a kinsman who has a controversy with the townsmen of Plymouth.—He is only waiting for a wind, to set sail.

mouth, and hath desired mee to recummende unto your Honor his just and reasonable desire, and therin no farther to be favored then it shall apeare lawfull. If it shall therfore pleas your Honor to be his honorable favorer herein I shall acknowledge it as don to my sealf, and shalbe very proude if it pleas yow to make hyme know that, as I am yours in all love and service, so hee may fynde that you pleas for my sake in this his great righte to aforde hyme sume testimony therof; and yeven so, only gasing for a wynde to carrye mee to my destiny, I humblie take my leve. From Sherburne, this first of January [1595].

Your Honor's to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CICILL, *Knight, of Her Majesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

2^nd^ *Jan.* 1594 [*legal style*]. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.*

## LIV.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 4 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER LIV.

1595. Nov. 10.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

SIR,

FROM this desolate place I have little matter; from myself, less hope; and therefore I thinke the shorter the discourse, the better wellcum.

I receved from Lyme,—a port town in this shire,—by a smale barke lately arived, that there ar lately many French shipps imbargoed in Spayne, and of good burden

LETTER LIV.

1595. Nov. 10.

Alleged Naval Preparations in Spain against Ireland.—Desire to hear if anything is to be done in the matter of Guiana.

and very serviceable; notwithstanding that the same went by pasport and asurance from Spayne. And all the marriners likewise imprested; and that ther ar a fleet ether gone or goinge of sixtye saile, as the[1] saye, for Irlande. It seemeth asuredly that the preparations ar great, and do dayly increase.

If your Honors conceave therof aright, or looke into the nirest mischeif, wee shall do the better. Butt I feare, by your favors, ther is somewhat more in the enemys intent then is supposed. Wee that have mich ado to gett bread to eat have the less to care for, unless mich lost labor and love awaké us that ar also thanckles[2] busied in things ether beyound our capasates or cares.

What becumes of Guiana I miche desire to here,—whether it pass for a history or a fable. I here Mr. DUDLEY[3] and others ar sendinge thither; if it be so, farewell all good from thence. For although my sealf,—like a cockscome,—did rather preferr the future, in respect of others; and rather sought to wine the kings to her Majestíes service then to sack them, I know what others will do, when thos kings shall cum simpely into their hands. If it may pleas yow to acquaynt my Lord Admirall therwith, lett it then succeed as it wille.

If my Lord will have a fyne pinnes sent to the coast of Spayne, to vew what is dunn, I thinke for a matter of £40 or £50 I can gett one that shall do service.

Sir, for conclusion, I will only say this mich,—take good heed least you be not to slow. Expedition in a little is better than mich, to late. Butt yow, ministers

[1] *they.*

[2] For *thanklessly.*

[3] Sir Robert Dudley, afterwards titular Duke of Northumberland (son of the Earl of Leicester).

of dispach, ar not plentifull. Neather is it every man's occupation. God send yow all honor and health. I will wishe yow both, and be reddy ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

From Sherborne, the 10th of November [1595].

LETTER LIV. 1595. Nov. 10.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, of Her Majesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

10 *November*, 1595. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.*

## LV.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 9 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER LV. 1595. Nov. 13. To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne. On the colonization and the mineral wealth of Guiana.

SIR,

YOW may perceve by this *Relation* that it is no dreame which I have reported of Guiana. And if on[1] image have bynn brought from thence wayinge 47 kintalls,[2]—which cannot be so little worth as 100 thousand pounde,—I know that in Manoa ther ar store of thes. If the *Relation* sent to the Spanishe kinge had bynn also taken, yow should therin have founde matter of great admiration. Butt, howsoever this action be respected, I know that the like fortune was never offered to any Christian prince. I know it wilbe presently followed both by the Spanishe and French; and if it be foreslowed by us, I conclude that wee ar curst of God.

In the mean tyme, I humblie beseich yow to move her Majesty that none be suffred to soyle the enterprize;

[1] *one.* [2] *I.e.* forty-seven hundredweight.

LETTER LV.
1595. Nov. 13.

and that thos kings of the borders which ar by my labor, perrill, and charge, woonn to her Majesties love and obedience, be not by other pilferers lost agayne. I hope I shalbe thought worthy to direct thos actions that I have att myne own charges labored in; and to govern that countrey which I have discovered, and hope to conquer for the Queen, without her cost. I am sendinge away a barke to the countrey, to cumfort and asure the people, that they dispaire not, nor yeild to any composition with other nations.

I know the plott[1] is by this tyme finished which yf you pleas to cummand from HERIOTT, that her Majestye may see it. If it be thought of less importance then it deserveth, her Majestye will shortly bewayle her negligence therin; and the enemy, by the addition of so mich wealth, weare us out of all.

Sir, I pray esteeme it as the afaire requirethe, if you love the Queen's honor, profitt, and saufetye. If I be thought unworthy to be imployed, or that because of my disgrace all men feare to adventure with me,—if it may not be otherwise,—I wishe sume other, of better sufficiency and grace, might undertake it, that the Queen loose not that which shee shall never fynde agayne.

Yow fynd that ther ar, beseds gold, both diamonds and pearell. And I brought with mee — taken up amonge the sands—a stone which, beinge cutt, is very rare. I pray do mee the favor to cummand PETER VANLORE to deliver you thos too[2] which I gave hyme to prove,—which hee made litle accompt of. Butt I will have them cutt by PEPLER, who is skilfull, and dwells here with A[DRIAN] GILBERT. I have sent yow on[3] which was cutt here,—which I thinke is amatist,[4] and

[1] *I.e.* a map of Guiana. See the Letters of Harriot and others to Cecil, in the Appendix of this volume. [2] *two.* [3] *one.* [4] *amethyst.*

LETTER LV.
1595. Nov. 13.

hath the strang blushe of carnation. Butt I asure my sealf that ther ar not more diamounds in the Est Indies then ar to be founde in Guiana; which yow see also verefied by the relation of the Spanishe letters.

I have another, cutt, of another sort; and if it be no diamound, yet it is exceeding any diamound in bewtye. Butt I am not in hast to lett it go out of my fingers. Butt thes stones beare wittness of better, and ther is enough for all the world if wee have the grace. Butt we must cast so many doubts; and this dolt and that gull must be satisfied, or elce all is nothing. If the Spanierds had bynn so blockishe and slouthfull, wee had not feared now their poure, who by their gold from thence vex and indanger all the estates of kings.

Wee must not looke to mayntayne warr upon the revenews of Ingland. If wee be once driven to the defencive, farr well myght.[1] Butt as God will so it shalbe—who governs the harts of kings.

I rest your asured to be cummanded, poore or riche.

W. RALEGH.

Sherburn, this Wensday morning, an houre after the receipt of your letter; the 13 of November [1595].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERTT CYCILL, *Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

13 *November*, 1595. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.*

[1] This reading is doubtful, the last word of the sentence being partly defaced.

## LVI.

## TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 26 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; subscribed, signed, and addressed in autograph.

LETTER LVI.

1595. Nov. 25.

To the Lords of the Council. From Sherborne.

On levies of men and defence of the Coasts of Devon and Cornwall.

My dewtie most humblie remembred. In the letters which I receaved from your Honors, bearing date the xvth of this November, yt hath pleased you that mutuall succour be gyven from the counties of Devon and Cornwall to each other by renforsing of each with 4,000 men, uppon notice gyven from me to the Erle of Bathe for the succour of Cornewall, and the like from his Lordship to me for Devon. Yt is trewe that before this tyme wee had not anie warrant to send out of the counties under our charge any releeffe to the neighbour places invaded. For remedy whereof your Lordships have gravely ordered this course of seconding each other. Notwithstanding, because I holde myselfe bounde in duetie to speake my knowledge of the estate of Cornwall, wherewith it hath pleased her Majestie to put me in trust,—a charge, both for the greatnes and grace, farr beyond any worth or deserte of myne,—I doe presume to put your Honors in minde that, according to my mean judgement, yt were more fitt to supplie Devon out of Somersett, then from Cornewall; hoping that your Honors will receave my reasons for the same as in discharge of my duetie, and not that I dare to offer them in any other sorte; being bound to obay, and not to advice.

LETTER LVI.
1595. Nov. 25.

Yf there shall any discent be made by the enymye, in either county, by the waie of surprise, and that the enymy doe but burne, or sacke, and departe, then can nether be releeved as aforesaid; bycause there wilbe no tyme gyven to unite the forces of the same shere, where such attempt shalbe offered, much lesse for the drawing in of any numbers from afarr; and for any such enterprize, where there is no purpose to hold and possesse the places gotten, each shire with 4,000 men shalbe able either to repell or resiste the same. But if the enymy dispose himselfe to fortyfye any parte in Cornewall or to strengthen any neck of lande of advantage, and thereby begyne to dryve us to a defensive warr, then there is noe country adjoyneth to Cornewall but Devon from whence any spedy supplie maie be had to impeach the begining of such a purpose. And if ought be attempted in Devon—of which Plymouth is most to be feared, having, in one indraught, two goodly harboroughes, as Cattwater and Aishewater—then it is also very likely that the enymye will either assure Cornewall, or seeke utterly to wast yt, bycause yt is next his suplies, both from Spayne and Brittaine[1]; and hath divers portes and good rodes to receave a fleete.

Furthermore, maye it please your Lordships to consider that Cornewall is stretched owt all in lenght, and hath little bredth; the west parts whereof ar little lesse then 80 myles from Plymouth, and between the one and the other the great river of Tamar, which is not fordable in any place within 12 myles of Plymouth: and for 4,000 men to march over at Newbridge above Calstock —which ys the neerest passage—the journy of one part of the succour wilbe of one 100[2] myles and more, as they come to the town of Plymouth; considering the coasting

[1] Brittany.

[2] So in MS.

LETTER LVI.
1595. Nov. 25.

of the river on both sides. And for other passaige, there are but two ferries,—the one at Stonehouse, the other at Aishe,—and those but smale boats of no recept, and by which nether carriage, horse, victuall, munition, nor ought else fitt to followe an army, can be conveyed but in a very longe time. Besides, if ther be an intent for Plymouth, yt is to be feared that the enymy will bring gallies with them, as well to assure there landing as to comaund the river of Tamar, and then all passages shalbe taken awaie but at Newebridge aforesaid; and yet the same maie be also easelie broken, yf the gallies once possesse the saied river. And yf the enymy shoulde lande towards the east of Plymouth, as at Salcoombe, Slapton, Dartmouth, or Torbay, which I doe nowe thinke is likely, then sholde also parte of the succours of Cornewall martche above one hundred and 20 myles, or 140 mile, to the place attempted.

Moreover, may it please you to consider that if 4,000 men sholde at any time be drawen out of Cornwall, and the same knowen to the enymy,—as it wilbe at the instant,—I assure your Honors that 300 soldiers, either sent out of Brittaine[1] (which maie be done in two tydes) or retorned in a gallye or two from Plymouth, wilbe strenght sufficient to indaunger and distroy the whole shire; at least all the western parts, which oughte most to be defended in respecte of the good harboroughes therein. For there is noe parte of Ingland so daungerouslie seated, soe thinnly mande, so littell defensed, and so easelie invaded; having the sea on both sides, which noe other countye of Englande hath, and is withall so narroe, that yf an enymy possesse any of two or three straights, neither can those of the west repaire eastward, nor those of the est westward: for betwyn

[1] Brittany.

LETTER LVI.
1595. Nov. 25.

Mounts Baye and the sea entring within St. Tees it is but 3 miles and a halfe from sea to sea; without which their lyeth a good parte of the lande to the west in forme of a Peninsula.

Betwen Trewro (which standeth on the first sound of the river of Falmouth) and St. Piran is but fyve miles overland, passable, and the same also easelie garded; which is as much of Cornewall as the enymye should need. For within soe muche as lieth to the west of the two indraughts are the best ports, and are very sufficient to receave the greatest fleet that ever swam, and conteyneth 27 myles of lenght, very gardable; which in my simple juidgement is everie waie more to be sought for by the enymy then Plymouth; at least yf the same weare soe well understode by them, which is not unlikely; for the enymy taking Plymouth, and not possessing Cornewall, there is then a whole country[1] to the west of them, and betwen them and their supplies. But possessing this part they ynjoye as good, yf not a better, porte then Plymouth; and there is then noe lande betwen them and Britaine or Spaine: and if they have any purpose to make warr with us at home, and shalbe able to dryve us to a defensyve, then is ther[2] noe comparyson betwen the one and the other. For which I could yeilde your Honors many reasons, but that I feare I am over tedyouse in these.

The cuntrye eastward ys also but narrowe, there being but 8 miles betwen the river of Padstowe and the Baye of Frewardreth.

Againe, Cornewall hath not anie one company of horse, either lance, lightehorse, petronell, or pistoll. Notwithstandinge, if it shall please your Honors to thinke it fitt, there maie be order given that all those

[1] So in MS. [2] This word has been added in Sir Walter's own hand.

LETTER LVI.
1595. Nov. 25.

companies which bounder the river of Tamar or Saltashe be reddy to releave Plymouth uppon any sudden; bycause they maie be soone past over, if there were provision of better passage. But as yet there ar but two ferries neere Plymouth,—the one at Stonehouse, the other at Aishe, as aforesaid. And two or three gallies will interrupte all transportation; bycause there is not any place strengthened to gard or assure anie passage over the saied river, neerer then Newebridge, which is 12 miles above, within the lande.

Contrariewise, Somerset lieth[1] to Devon in great bredthe, and is a cuntrye strongly formed; whereas the other is stretched all in lenght. Somersetshiere is not devyded from Devon by any river which is not fordable, at all tymes and in all places, so as both horse, foot, carryage, victuall, and whatsoever maie come, in hast, from thence to the succour of Devon. Cornewall hath Tamar, noe waie passable neere Plymouth. Somerset is seated from daunger, having Devon towards the southe, and on Severne side it hath not ports capeable of any shippes of bourden, and the indraught is long and daungerous. All the north coast of Devon and Cornewall lyeing betwen the waters of Somerset, which are Dunster, Minnett, and Bridgewater, into which smale barques cannot aryve without precise observation of tyde. Cornewall is but an arme of lande which stretcheth it selfe even to the bosome of the enemye, and hath the best ports of Ingland on the south; and better than any in Somerset on the north; and also betwen them and harme. Somerset is verie riche and full of horse, as well for carriadge as service; many welthie gentlemen; and aboundeth in victuall. Cornewall hath no horse

[1] This word is added, by interlineation, in Ralegh's hand.

LETTER LVI.
1595. Nov. 25.

of service; the cuntrie poore; fewe gentlemen, and those of meane livinge; and, by reason that their riches consisteth in tynn-workes, there is little corne, and lesse of all things else.

For these respects, I hope that your Honors will have favorable regarde towards us; being, notwithstanding, redye to performe whatsoever it shall please her Majestie to determine, or your Lordships to comaunde. And even soe, craving pardon for my presumption herein, I humblie take my leave. From Sherborne, this 25th of November, 1595.

Your Honors' in all to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable the Lords and others of Her Majesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

25 *Nov.* 1595. *Sir Walter Raleghe to the Lords.*

## LVII.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 44 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER LVII.
1595. Nov. 26?
To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

SIR,

I BESEICH you lett us know whether wee shalbe travelers, or tinkers; conquerors, or novices. For, if the winter pass without making provision, there can be no vitling in the summer; and if it be now foreslowed, farewell Guiana for ever. Then must I determyne to begg or run away. Honor, and gold, and all good, for ever hopeless.

LETTER LVII.

1595. Nov. 26?

Proposals for the Colonization of Guiana.

Arrangements for the defence of Devon and Cornwall.

I do not heer how you like the white stone. I have sent for one of each; as soon as they cume, you shall have them.

I have written this letter[1] to the Lords in aunswere of that which I receved about mutuall supplies between Devon and Cornwale,—a matter soon written, but not possible to performe. Somersett may best releve Devon, for if it be apoynted to Dorsett, it is more than need.[2] For Dorsett hath never a haven capable of any great shipp, without which ther is no feare of any discent.

I beseich you let us here sumewhat as soun as you cann. And so, with my most humble dewtye to my Mistris—I care not mich for your idle Honor—

W. R.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I have sent the letter unsealed. HANCOKE hath a seal of myne; when you have perused it. I humblie pray you that your footman may deliver thes too letters att Derum House.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, of Her Majestics most honorable Privey Councell.* Hast, &c.

Endorsed:

*November* 1595. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.* [It also bears the endorsements of the several postmasters on the route.]

[1] See preceding letter of 25th of same month.

[2] This reading is a little doubtful, through abbreviation in the original.

## PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LVIII. — *THE PANAMA EXPEDITION OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, IN* 1595.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LVIII.

RALEGH'S gloomy anticipation, in this letter, of the fate of Drake's expedition,—"if the Spanish fleet arrive while the soldiers are overland,"—had been actually realized, though in a different way, a few days before its date. Whilst Sir Walter was writing it, Hawkins already lay dead; as did also Drake's dear friend and comrade, Brute Browne. The unfortunate attack on Puerto Rico had been made, and had failed of its object. Within less than two months, Drake, too, died "of a broken heart;" as Ralegh himself said, long years afterwards, in the letter which records his own disasters in the fatal expedition to Guiana.

There is but too much proof that the Queen and her Ministers were the responsible authors of Drake's failure and death. The expedition, at its outset, had been scandalously pinched in its due supplies and appliances. A divided command—that frequent source of failure in the Elizabethan enterprises—was insisted upon; and to the divided command were added conflicting instructions. As in so many other expeditions, the chief anxiety at home was for the spoils.

Almost from the first day, the commanders differed in opinion as to the best course to be pursued, and the misfortunes began almost as soon as the voyage. On the 30th of October, Hawkins' sternmost ship was attacked and taken by five Spanish ships of war. His death took place on the 12th of November, the day before the attack on Puerto Rico. Drake died on the 28th of January, 1596;—just six months too soon to share in the rejoicings for the great victory at Cadiz.

A considerable portion of the expenditure for the outfit

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LVIII.

of this expedition had fallen on the commanders. As soon as Drake was dead, proceedings were taken in the Exchequer against his heirs to recover a large debt alleged to be "due to the Crown."

Such was the monumental recognition awarded, by Queen Elizabeth and her advisers, to the services of those among the naval worthies of England who were not courtiers.

## LVIII.

## TO THE LORD HIGH ADMIRAL HOWARD.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvi. § 42 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of the year.

LETTER LVIII.

1595. Nov. 30.

To the Lord Admiral Howard. From Sherborne.

Proposals for the sending of Spanish news to Sir Francis Drake; and for renewing the enterprise of Guiana.

MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

I THINCKE your Lordshipp hath understoode by WATTS,[1] that came lately out of Spayne, that ther wilbe a fleet sent after Sir FRANCIS DRAKE and Sir JOHN HAWKINGES. The man was curius to confess any particulers to mee, butt I did ever gess it to be so. I thincke your Lordshipp should do very honorable to cause a coople of smale carvells or pineses to be dispatcht, with all hast, with advise to them. The charge wilbe small to the Queen, and it may save all her shipps and people in that action. For, as sure as God lives, if the Spanishe fleet arive while the soldiers ar over lande, bothe the shipps att ancor and thos at Panama wilbe both lost. And they may yet be warned in tyme sufficient.

I dare take on mee to direct them to fynde them out by a sure and speedy course; butt your Lordshipp can

[1] Sir John Watts, of London, already mentioned in preceding letters.

LETTER LVIII.
1595. Nov. 30.

do it better your sealf, and therfore ther needs nothing butt the resolution;—which God grawnt may be effected, according to the greatness of the necessetye.

If any fleet go for Ilande,[1] and that your Lordshipp go not, I beseich your Lordshipp to inable mee to the service, who would purchace her Majestyes favor with what labor or perrill soever.

If your Lordshipp send to Sir FRANCIS, it would be best don from hence—I mean from Wiemouth or Plymouth. For a messenger may be with them from hence, er they can cum about from London hither.

I would also humblie pray your Lordshipp to gett a resolution for our enterprize of Guiana. For, if provision of vitle be not made in the winter, it cannot be done for this yeare. Her Majestye shall, by foreslowing it, lose the greatest asurance of good that ever was offered to any Christian princes.[2] And your Lordship douth fynde that it is the surest way to devert all attempts from home.[3]

Thus, levinge thos afaires to your Lordshipp's honorable care and my sealf to your service, I humblie take my leve, and will ever be your Lordshipp's as your sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the last of November [1595].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lorde, the Lorde Admirall of Inglande.*

Endorsed:

30 *Nov.* 1595. *Sir Walter Raleghe to the Lord Admirall. A pynnasse to be sent after Sir Francis Drake.*

[1] So in MS. [2] Perhaps, for *princess*.

[3] In view of subsequent events, the reader will do well to bear this very pregnant sentence in mind.

## LIX.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 55 (**Hatfield**); Holograph. Without date of year.

[See Vol. I. pp. 206, 207.]

LETTER LIX. — 1596. May 3.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Blackwall.

On the levying of men for the Cadiz expedition.

SIR,

MAY it pleas yow to vouchsaufe to send for Master BURROUGHES, the Controler of the Admiraltye, and to geve charge unto hyme to repaire to Bralkewale[1] and to Ratleife,[2] to cummand awaye thos flibotts and other shipps that remayne, who cann best informe yow of the possebilletye of thes things. I am not able to live, to row up and down every tyde from Gravsend to Lundon, and hee, that lies here att Rackleif, can easely judge when they[3] rest, and how the rest, of the shipps may fale downe.

[*What follows appears to have been written a little later.*]

I am cum up agayne as farr as Blakewale, and would attend yow, if I knew how, or when. The names of thos men that refuse to serve Her Majestye I have delivered to POPE, Marshall of the Admiraltye. The rest shall also be sent hyme.

[1] So in MS. for *Blakwale*.

[2] Ratcliff, then a village on the Thames between London and Blackwall.

[3] For *the*.

LETTER CLIX.

1596. May 3.

The names of the shipps remayning I will send to Master BURROUGH, whom I humblie pray yow to speake withall. And so, being more greved then ever I was, in anything of this world, for this cross weather, I humblie take my leve. From Blakewale, reddy to go down agayne this tyde.

Your Honors to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

The 3d of Maye [1596].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

3 *May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Raleghe to my Master.*

## PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LX.—*RALEGH AND HUGH BROUGHTON.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LX.

THE following letter, in addition to the interesting testimony it affords of Ralegh's friendship with the eminent scholar and divine to whom it relates, serves to correct a small inaccuracy in the usual biographies of Broughton. It has commonly been stated that at about the date of this letter Broughton was in Germany, "and appears," it is added, "to have continued abroad till the death of Queen Elizabeth." Both before 1596 and after that year, this great scholar was much in Germany; but it is clear that at this date he had revisited England, and was again seeking Church preferment. He was once more unsuccessful; and the endorsement of this letter by Cecil's secretary is plainly an erroneous one. Hugh Broughton died in the neighbourhood of London in 1612, in the 63rd year of his age. His contributions to the literature both of theology and linguistics are well known. His preferment continued, until the end, to be little or none.

In a remarkable letter which Broughton wrote to Archbishop Whitgift (a letter which is now among the *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield), he distinctly asserts that he had more than once the Queen's assent, or intended assent, to his elevation to the episcopal bench,—on the occurrence, as it seems, of vacancies in the see of St. Davids and in that of London; and that his nomination was prevented through Whitgift's opposition. But he says nothing about the bishopric of Waterford.

The "Archbishop of Cashell" of this letter was Meiler Magrath, who held that see for the remarkable period of fifty-two years; dying, it is said, a centenarian. The Queen's letter for the restitution to Magrath of the temporalities is dated at Windsor, Nov. 11, 1570. He died in 1622, then

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LX.

holding, with the archbishopric, the sees of Killala and Achonry. These united sees he had received "*in custodiam*," in April 1611; up to which date he had continued to hold those similarly united sees of Lismore and Waterford which Ralegh was so desirous to obtain for Broughton.

Beatson (in his *Political Index;* 2nd edition) asserts—with an inaccuracy but too common in him—that these sees were surrendered by Archbishop Magrath in 1589. The King's letter of April 1611 affords conclusive proof that they were at that period still held *in commendam* with Cashel.

Ralegh's unfavourable opinion of the Archbishop's character is evidently not an impartial opinion. He had a great love for Church lands, and small love, usually, for prelates in possession. In Archbishop Magrath's case, however, Ralegh's opinion accords with other and better evidence.

## LX.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 52 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; subscribed and signed.

LETTER LX.

1596. May 3.

To Sir R. Cecil. [From Mile End?]

Recommending Hugh Broughton for the bishopric of Lismore and Waterford.

THESE maye be to seignifye unto your Honor, that the Archebishopp of Cashell, a man whome, I thincke, my Lord Treasourer hathe lytell cause to favor, hathe of late delte verye badlye with me, contrarye to all faythe and promysse, touchinge diverse of my Irishe leases and lands; whoes discortysies I wold gladlye mete withall. And doe fynde noe better meanes in releffe of my self, fartheraunce of relygyon, and comforte of all myne Inglyshe tenants and frendes, then in preferrynge some other of better sorte to the bishoppricke of Lesmore and Waterforde, whereof the Archebishop hathe but a

LETTER LX.
1596. May 3.

comende,[1] and hathe, besydes, twoe or three other bishoprickes.

My desire is that you wilbe pleased to be a meane to prefer unto the same bishopricke of Lesmore and Waterford my verye good frend Master HUGHE BROUGHTON, a man well knowen to my Lorde his Grace of Caunterburye,[2] my Lorde Treasorer, and all the lerned docters and scollers of Englande; and a man unto whome I wishe moche goode; besechinge you to have some conference with my cosen GORINGE aboughte the same—wherein the said Master BROUTON is able to do moche good and be a greate comforte to all our Inglishe nation thereaboughtes, and encrease of relygyon. And the gentellman hymself wilbe verye thanckefull unto you for anye favor shewed unto hym, whome I leave to your good rememberance, and your self to God. This third of Maye, 1596.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[3] To Sir Robert Cycill.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERTE CECILL, *Knighte, Counceller in Her Highnes' Prevye Councelles.*

Endorsed:

3 *May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master. In favour of the Bishop of Lesmore and Waterford.*

[1] *I. e.* a tenure *in commendam.*
[2] See the Prefatory Note to this Letter.
[3] Added, at foot, in Sir Walter's hand.

## LXI.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 50 (**Hatfield**). In the hand of an amanuensis; subscribed and signed.

LETTER LXI.

1596. May 3.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Mile End.

Recommending Charles Cartie for a grant of lands in Ireland.

SIR,

THIS bearer my ancient servaunt, CHARLES CARTIE, is an humble suitor to your Honnor for the renewing and confirming of a letter formerlie written by your Honnor and the rest of the Lords of Her Majesties Privy Councell to the Lord Deputie and Lord Chauncellor of Ireland for the passing of certen concealed lands there, graunted by her Highnes to PATRICK GRANTE, for which CHARLES hath agreed and compounded; for that he and his father have been possessed of the said lands a long tyme.

Your Honnors' letters have not been obeyed; and therefore he humblie desireth other letters of lyke tenor, to comaund performance thereof. He will show your Honnor a letter conceaved in writing, which, if you shall please to allow of as a reasonable request, he will ever remaine most bound for your honorable favor, without which he is like to be undone, for that this is his chiefest living. And so I humblie take my leave.

From Myle End, the 3rd of May, 1596.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, one of Her Majesties most honorable Privie Counsell.*

Endorsed:

3 *May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master. In favour of Charles Carley.*

## LXII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 51 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER LXII.
1596.
May 3.
To Sir R. Cecil.
[From Mile End?]
Personal affairs.

SIR,

BEINGE ever bolde to charge yow with many of my trobles and burdens, I do still presume on your favor that yow wilbe pleased to bee bounde for mee for the £500 which I stande in danger to the Widdow SMITHE for; and because the conveyance of the Statute is intricatt, and that I hope this very terme to cumpound for it, and to discharge yow, I beseich yow to accept of my counterbonde for your reasurance, in which I will not faile.

I must hope that, if other then sawftye accumpany my service in this enterprize, that yow wilbe pleased to favor thos of myne that remayne, who must only depend on yow, as I have dun. So, as of all other, I shall take good order to save yow from any particuler charge or inconvenience.

Thus, hoping to take leve on yow er I depart, I rest ever your's to be cummanded,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, of her Majesties moste honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

3 *May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.*

## LXIII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 60 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

[See Vol. I. pp. 206, 207.]

LETTER LXIII.

1596. May 4.

To Sir R. Cecil. From North-fleet.

Preparations for the Cadiz Expedition.

SIR,

THE shipps that remayne above ar six: The great flebote of Brasenes[1] is on;[2]—riding at Blakewale; another flebote of London, caled the *George;* another, the *Jacobe* of Agarslote; another, the *Jusua*[3] of Horne; a fourth; and sume too other. POPE, the marshall of the Admiraltye, can informe Mr. BURRIS.[4] For POPE prest all the shipps. Hee can also informe yow how litle her Majesties autoretye is respected. For as fast as wee press men on [2] day the [5] cum away another, and say the [5] will not serve.

I beseich you, Sir, to vouchsauf to send for POPE, of Seynt Katerens, who hath taken great payns alreddy, and to tell hyme that I have recummended his service; and hee will do more then any. Here ar att Gravsend, and between this Lee,[6] sume 22 saile. Thos above that ar of great draught of water cannot tide it down, for the [5] must take the high water, and dare not make after an houre ebb untill they be past Barking Shelf. And, now, the winde is so stronge as it is impossible to turne down, or to warpe downe, or to tooe[7] downe.

[1] Apparently so in MS., but the word is partly obliterated.
[2] *one.* [3] *Joshua.*
[4] Elsewhere called 'Burroughs,' another officer of the Admiralty. [5] *they.*
[6] Apparently so in MS. The word 'and' is probably omitted. [7] *tow.*

LETTER LXIII.
1596. May 4.

I cannot writ to our generalls att this tyme; for the pursevant found me in a countre villag, a mile from Gravend, honting after runaway marriners, and dragging in the mire from ale-howse to ale-howse, and could gett no paper, butt that the pursevaunt had this peece.

Sir, by the leving God, ther is nor King, nor Queen, nor generall, nor any elce, can take more care then I do to be gonn. Butt I humblie pray yow butt to speak with Mr. BURROUGH, and lett hyme be sent for afterward before my Lorde Chamberlayne, that they may here hyme speak whether any man can gett down with this wind or no; which will satisfie them of me.

If this strong wind last, I will steale to Blakwale to speak with yow, and to kiss your hands.

W. R.

From Norfleet, this Tuesday [4 May, 1596].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

4 *May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Ralcigh to my Master.*

## LXIV.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 63 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER LXIV.
1596. May 6.
To Sir R. Cecil.

SIR,

THIS gentleman, my frinde and kynsman, hath intreated mee to be a sutor unto yow in his behalfe, that it would pleas yow to move her Majestye, after so many years disgrace to cumfort hyme with one gratius worde.

LETTER LXIV.
1596. May 6.
From Queenborough.
In commendation of a kinsman who had incurred the Queen's displeasure.

I do not know how hee may be wronged unto her Majestye, butt I fynd no man more reddy and disposed, of his qualletye, to do her service; neather more willing to spend all he hath therin.

I know his charge was great in the last Discovery[1] with me, and ther is none now of his sort that douth so chargablie prepaire hyme sealf. I must leve me, and all myne, to your honorable favor, and wee will all honor yow and serve yow.

W. RALEGH.

From Quinburrow, this 6th of Maye [1596].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERTT CECIL, *Knight, of her Majesties most honble Privey Councell.*

Endorsed:

*6 May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master.*

## LXV.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xli. § 14 (**Hatfield**). In the hand of an amanuensis; the subscription, postscript, signature, and address in autograph.

LETTER LXV.
1596. May 26.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Plymouth.

SIR,

I HAVE written to Doctor CÆSAR[2] in the behalfe of Mr. WILLIAM HILLIARD, a master of arts and very learned, to move her Majestie for her letters to the Deane and Chapter of Exceter for his admittance to the

[1] *I.e.* the Voyage of Discovery to Guiana of 1595.
[2] Afterwards the well-known Sir Julius Cæsar.

LETTER LXV.

1596. May 26.

Recommending William Hilliard for a Prebend in Exeter Cathedral.

next place that shall be void of a Prebend and Cannon therin.

I beeseech your Honnor to further him in his suite, for the obteyning thereof. He will in dutefull service acknowledg your honnorable favour, and I shalbe bound for his sake to remember it to my power. And so I humbly take my leave. From Plymouth, the 26th of May, 1596.

Your Honors to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Sir, I beseiche yow for my sake, because it standeth miche on my creditt, to favor the sute; and I shall evermore acknowledge it in the highest digre.

W. R.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECIL, *Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.*

Endorsed:

26 *May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Raleighe to my Master. In favour of Mr. Hilliard.*

## LXVI.

## TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xli. § 25 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis; subscribed and signed.

LETTER LXVI.

1596. May 29.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Plymouth.

SIR,

I AM entreated by Mr. JOHN RANDOLL, Deputie Vice-Admirall of Dorsetshire, to desire your honorable fauvor towards him, if by reason of his office or other occasions he shalbe urged by suites to sollicite your

Honnor. I beeseech your Honnor in reguard of the honestie of the gentleman, and for the good opinion that is hereabouts generallie conceaved of him, to fauvor him in such sort as the equitie of his causes shall require, and him selfe deserve. And so I humblie take my leave. From Plymmouth, the 29th of May, 1596.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER LXVI.
1596. May 29.
In commendation of John Randall, Vice-Admiral of Dorset.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, one of her Highnes' most honorable Privy Councell.*

Endorsed:

29 *May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master. In favour of Mr. Randoll.*

## LXVII.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. MS. Cotton, VESPASIAN, C xiii. fol. 290 (**British Museum**). Holograph. Without date of year.

*** Sir Anthony Ashley, the bearer of this letter, was the first to bring intelligence to England of the capture of Cadiz. Some particulars of his statements as to the spoils have been noticed in the preceding volume. (*Life*, p. 229.) In the course of his explanations on that very difficult part of the subject,—which he affected to give with great frankness,—he was brought repeatedly under cross-examination, by the Queen herself, as well as by Burghley and Robert Cecil; and his evidence about it was found to be somewhat unsatisfactory and incoherent. He was presently put under restraint. Cecil wrote to Sir John Gilbert to order strict search to be made along the coast for spoils which Sir Anthony Ashley was

supposed to have found means of concealing, in the brief interval between his arrival at Plymouth and his journey to London. Sir Anthony's subsequent history is in many respects remarkable. Both the *Council Books* and the *Domestic Correspondence* contain numerous references to it. He died towards the close of the reign of James the First. Lady Ashley, his widow, married Carew Ralegh, only surviving son of Sir Walter. Anne Ashley, his daughter and heiress, married John Cooper, and became the ancestress of the Earls of Shaftesbury.

LETTER LXVII.

1596. July 7.

To Sir R. Cecil. Written at sea.

Victory at Cadiz.

SIR,

THIS bearer, Sir ANTHONY ASHLEY, that hath seen all, can better report all then any letter or discourse. The xxi of June we beheld the citty of Calize, the fleet of the Kinge, and that of Nova Hispania; all which we mastered the same day.

Of every man's desert, both for councel and performance, lett it bee delivered with what device soever, yet I doubt not butt all shall have right. I was not secound to any in the fight against the gallions and gallis; wherin I was hurt, and could not be first att the taking of this town as att the rest.

Ther hath been good agreement between the Generalls. The victorye was caried with great honor and mercye.[1] Ther hath been mich gotten by the land commanders; although I do think little possest by the Generalls themsealvs. The Kinge of Spain never so much dishonored; neither hath he ever receved so great losse.

[1] Francisco de Quesada, a canon of the Church of Cadiz, drew up a very striking account of what passed under his own observation, at this juncture —just after the victory. On the point here touched by Ralegh, Quesada says: "Ninguna mujer ha sido forzado ni llevada à Inglaterra; a nadre han dado tormento por haber dineros sino fueron dos otres; ninguna persona murió à sangre fria; casi ninguna insolencia se ha hecho;" &c. MS. Simancas, *Estado*, Bund. 177. (*Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, vol. xxxiii. pp. 343, *seqq.*)

LETTER LXVII.
1596. July 7.

The Earle hath behaved hymesealfe, I protest unto yow by the living God, both valiently and advisedly in the highest degree; without pride; without crueltye; and hath gotten great honor and mich love of all.

For particulars, your Honor shall receve by others,—which I had rather should so bee written yow, [than] by mee.

I hope her most excellent Majestye will take my labors and indeavors in good parte. Other ritches then the hope therof I have none; only I have receved a blow which now, I thank God, is well amended;—only a little eysore will remayne. If my life had ended withall, I had then payde some part of the great deabts which I owe her. Butt it is butt borrowed, and I shall paye it, I hope, to Her Majesties advantage, if occasion be offred.

Sir, I humbly beseich you to excuse me that I write thus briefly for the present, and that yow will vouchsaife also to excuse me to my Lord your father. And I will remayne, evermore to be cummanded by yow as your sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

To the westward of Calize, sume x leaugs, the 7 of July [1596].

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I beseich yow to cummend me to my cussen . . .[1], my brother, and to my cussen Stanhope.

Addressed: *To Sir* ROBERT CECIL.

[1] This name has been torn away.

## PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXVIII.—*RALEGH AND SIR ARTHUR SAVAGE.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXVIII.

SIR ARTHUR SAVAGE, who was the bearer of this letter to Sir Robert Cecil, together with the despatches from the Earl of Essex and the Lord Admiral, is the "verrie honest plaine gentleman," mentioned, in close connection with Ralegh, in a remarkable letter to Lord Henry Howard from King James, undated; but written in the year 1602. The letter to Howard is at Hatfield, and is one of those which have been recently printed by Mr. Bruce for the Camden Society. In the original, the figures '8' and '10' stand as cyphers for the names of Edward Bruce of Kinloss and of Cecil. The passage which relates to Savage and Ralegh is as follows:—"I doe also persave by youre letters to BRUCE that Sir ROBERT CECIL is verrie desyrouse to knowe the knichtis name that delt betuixt the Duike of LENOX and RAULIE; and thairfore, althoch the knicht him self be a verrie honest plaine gentleman for so farre as I can learne, yett knowing that confident trust can no more be severid from trew freindshippe than the shaddow can be cutte from the boddie, I will give to Sir ROBERT CECIL this further proofe of my confident truste in him by discoverie of this gentlemanne's name unto him,—quhiche is Sir AIRTHOURE SAVAGE; not doubting but that Sir ROBERT CECIL will conserve this as a freind's secreate, *without suffering the gentleman to receave any hairme hearby, quhiche more volde interest me in honoure than him in person;* especiallie sincē the gentlemannis nature appearis to be farre different from RAULIE's, thoch oute of zeale to me and affection to his freinde he could not refuse to be trucheman unto him."[1]

[1] *Cecil Papers*, CXXXV. fol. 86 (Hatfield). Printed in *Correspondence of King James VI.* &c. p. 43.

## LXVIII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. MS. Cotton. OTHO, E ix. fol. 365, verso (formerly numbered 334). (British Museum). Holograph. Mutilated; having been partially burnt in the fire at Ashburnham House. Without date or year.

[*The beginning of the letter—all that precedes the word* 'burnt'—*has been so burned in the fire at Ashburnham House as to be irrecoverable.*]

LETTER LXVIII.
1596. Aug. 6.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Plymouth Sound.
The Victory at Cadiz.

. . . . burnt. We had not means to . . . . . and men, being both wasted in the . . . . Ther is a very dangerous infection . . . . and siche, as with great difficultye was . . . . . to the Port. I have my sealf labored as to . . . . . person. I thancke God she is now in the Port of . . . .; and with us my Lord Thomas[1] in the *Honor*,[2] . . . . . both which came[3] a litle before by reason of . . . leakes, wherof my Lord Thomas was in great [peril].[4] The rest of the Fleet will be here to-morrow in [my opin]ion, if the winde stand; for the second of August I left them well, and the sixth I arrived. And they came above a dussen or twentye leaugs astern.

This gentleman, Sir ARTHUR SAVAGE, is dispatched by the Generalls. I know not the effect of his message. Butt, under pardon, I thincke it good for Her Majestye, if he be agayne returned with order for the Army which may, for the most, be returned into their countries from hence; which, the sooner it be done, the less charge

[1] Lord Thomas Howard, afterwards Earl of Suffolk.
[2] The ship *Mer-Honour*. [3] Meaning evidently 'came away.'
[4] The words within brackets are words of which the fire has left some trace—more or less.

LETTER LXVIII.

1596. Aug. 6.

Her Majestye shall be att here, with continewance of her sea charge.

Sir, may it please yow to beleve me, this bearer hathe deserved with the first and had the Poynt att the entrance of Calize. Butt he came, with others, in the rereguard of profitt and good fortune. And I assure your Honor, by the love I bear yow, that yow shall not favor any man more honest and valient. He can yield a good accompt of whatsoever hath past.

For my particular, I beseech yow, if it may be, that I may be pardoned for cummінge about by sea; for besids the great and dangerous infection, I am not well in health my sealf. My Lord Admiral will cum with the Fleet, and my Lord Thomas likewise. Sir, I hope her devin Majestye is well: the report wherof hath incountred us all with infinit joy.

From the port of Plymouth, cumming in, this 6th of August [1596].

Your Honor's, ever to honor and serve yow,

W. RALEGH.

## PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXIX.—*NARRATIVES OF THE BATTLE IN CADIZ HARBOUR.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXIX.

1596.

ON the question 'To whom was this letter addressed?' I am unable to throw any light. In a MS. copy of it which I have seen in the old library known as "Dr. Williams' Library" (formerly in Red Cross Street, London; now, temporarily, in Queen's Square), it is said—against plain internal evidence—to have been addressed to the Earl of Northumberland. Other copies are, like Philip Ralegh's print of 1699, wholly without superscription. Fortunately, its great historical interest depends in no degree on the solution of that small question. It has, eminently, the qualities which Ralegh's writings so rarely lack,—force and clearness. It also combines fairness to his fellows with his wonted full justice to himself. In half a dozen clear and simple words, he brings vigorously before the reader that fearless courage and self-devotion, on the part of the Earl of Essex, which, in moments of excitement and of peril, did much towards redeeming very grave errors of judgment. When, in relation to this event, Ralegh has to touch on those errors, he touches them with a gentle hand. If, for example, the reader will compare his account with that of Sir William Monson (MS. Cotton, TITUS, B viii.), he will find that the rival—whom Essex had so repeatedly and so bitterly attacked—deals more leniently with the faults of the brave but rash and inexperienced general, than does the declared follower and friend. Nor will it be found less interesting, or less instructive, to compare many of Ralegh's details, as to the doings and sufferings of the Spaniards, with their own contemporary accounts, as they have been recently collected from the Simancas archives and elsewhere, by the Continuators of the

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXIX.

1596.

*Coleccion de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, so ably began by Navarrete.

Another collation has an interest more directly biographical. Thomas Carte is known to have had access to many original papers of the Elizabethan period, not all of which can now be traced. Some, even, of the Burghley MSS. to which in his *History of England* he refers cannot, I believe, be discovered. Whatever may be thought of the colouring given to Carte's inferences by party feeling, his use of documents is admittedly honest. In his account of the Cadiz battle, he borrows much from the present letter; yet there are in that account some details, distinctly personal to Ralegh, which are not mentioned in Sir Walter's own letter, minute as it is. Whether, or not, these have been taken from correspondence not at present accessible, they are obviously founded on original testimony, and will be seen to have considerable interest. Here, to note them all,—or nearly all,—is impracticable. One or two points must suffice, by way of sample.

The victory at Cadiz was notoriously a great blow to the power and influence of Spain, but no one can study the documents which bear upon it without perceiving that it might, with little difficulty, have been made a much more effective and farther-reaching blow. The question, 'Whose was the neglect?' is, for students of English history, not at all an idle or superfluous question. Ralegh (in Letter LXIX.), Sir William Monson (in the Cotton MS. TITUS, B viii.), and Carte's informant,—whosoever he may have been,—all give, or suggest, an answer. All were present. All, it is obvious, had access to the best sources of information, for what did not pass actually under their own eyes. Each, if listened to separately, gives, or seems to give, on this point a different answer. But, if collated, the conflict of testimony may, perhaps, be found to be much less than it, at first, appears:—

RALEGH'S NARRATIVE.

. . . . I returned [to the ships] chiefly for that there was no Admiral left to order the Fleet, and indeed *few or no people in the Navy; all running headlong to the sack;* and secondly, because I was unfit for ought but ease at that time.

*At break of day following I sent to the General to have order to follow the fleet of ships bound for the Indies;* which were said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in Puerto Reall road; where they could not escape. *But the town new taken, and the confusion great, it was almost impossible for them to order many things at once; so as I could not receive any answer to my desire.*

The afternoon of the same day those which were merchants of Cales and Sevil offered the Generals *two millions to spare the Fleet; whereupon there was nothing done for the present.* But the following

SIR WILLIAM MONSON'S NARRATIVE.

*After the landing, . . . . my Lord* [Essex] *dispatched another messenger to my Lord Admirall entreating him to give orders to attack the merchants that rode in Port Royall,* for that it was daungerous to give them a nights respite, least they should convey awaie their wealth or take example by the *Philipp* and the other to burn themselves. *This message was delivered by Sir Anthony Ashley and Sir William Monson,* even as my Lord Admirall was in his boate ready with his troups of seamen to land; and *feareinge the Lord General Essex should be put to distress with his smale companies, . . . . hastened by all meanes to second him, and gave order to certain ships the next day to pursue them. . . .* To speak indifferently, his [Essex'] sudden landing without the Lord Admirall's privitie and *his giveinge advice by a messenger to attack the shippes, which should have bene* [given] *by a mature determinacion, noe doubt but*

CARTE.

In the heat of the conquest, the India Fleet was in a manner forgot, *till Sir Edward Conway, Blount, and Gerard offered to go with the soldiers, on board some small vessels, to attack it. But this Ralegh opposed, as the honour of that service belonged to the seamen.* He was disabled from walking by a wound in the leg; and, in the evening, the Generals desired him to go on board the fleet, to guard against any attack the gallies might make upon it in the night, at low water; promising him good quarters in the town, and his share in the booty. *Before he went, he desired orders for attacking the Indian Fleet; asking only one of his ships and twelve London merchantmen for the enterprise. But they entreated him to give them time to think of it till the morrow.*

*Day was no sooner broke, than Ralegh sent for the answer, and they desired him to come into the town to consult with them,* about a proposal made by the King's officers and the commissioners of the merchants, who offered two millions of dollars for the ransom of the Fleet and cargo.

*Ralegh said their business was first to make themselves masters of the Fleet,* and then those who now offered two millions would give four millions for its ransome. *But to this it was objected that, if the seamen once got possession of the ships, they would plunder them; besides some other inconveniences.*

In the meantime, the Spaniards worked day and night to get the best of the goods out of the ships; and, this being done, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, Governor of St. Lucar, gave orders for their being burnt, which was executed the third day; before the

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| morning, being the 23rd of June, the Duke of Medina caused all that fleet of merchants to be set on fire, because he was resolved that they must needs have fallen into our hands. . . . . | *the Lord Admirall did finde his honor a little eclipsed;* and, perhappes, did hasten his landinge for his reputacion, when he [himself] thought it more reason to have possest the Fleete.[1] . . . . . | contractors, who saw the blaze at a distance, arrived with the news of their being ransomed.[2] . . . . .

joyned to the Erle is an idle thynge. I am yoused but as the drage."[1]

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The estimate of their naval loss, formed by the Spaniards themselves, is thus briefly summed up in a paper entitled *Relacion de todo lo subcedido en Cádiz desde 29 de Junio de 1596, hasta 27 de Julio*,[2] which is preserved amongst the archives of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia: "Besides the loss of the three galleons, *St. Philip*, *St. Andrew*, *St. Matthew*; two galleons were lost of those under Pedro de Soella, which came from Lisbon; and also three Levantine ships which had arrived from Italy a fortnight before, richly laden. The ships of the Fleet for New Spain—to the number of thirty-four in all—were burnt, by the advice of Don Francisco Tello and of the General Luis Alfonso, in order to hinder the falling of so much wealth into the power of the enemy. The cargoes were estimated to be worth more than four millions, without reckoning the value of the ships and guns."[3]

The Spanish documents relating to the affair of Cadiz abound in curious illustrations of Ralegh's letters of this period (LXVIII. LXIX. and LXX), but very few of them can here be noticed. Not the least curious are the examinations of the handful of prisoners who, at different stages of the affair, were captured by the Spaniards, and who were put through their catechisms with a cool and systematic precision

[1] Lord High Admiral to Secretary of State; Dover, 13 April, 1596. (*Cecil Papers*, vol. xl. § 6. Hatfield.)

[2] The reader will bear in mind that the Spanish dates are ten days in advance of the English.

[3] "Demás de la pérdida de los tres galeones, S. Felipe, S. Andrés, S. Matias, se perdieron dos galeones de los de Pedro de Soella, que vinieron de Lisboa, y tres naos levantiscas que quince dias ántes les habian llegado de Italia muy ricas, y se quemaron las naos de la Flota de Nueva España, que eran treinta y cuatro en todas, por acuerdo de D. Francisco Tello y el general Luis Alfonso, porque no viniese tanta riqueza en poder de los enemigos, que se estima la carga en mas de cuatro millones, sin el valor de las naos y artilleria."—*Coleccion de los Documentos*, &c., xxxvi. pp. 418, 419.

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and minuteness which would do credit to Doctors Commons. Among the points on which Spanish curiosity was especially keen was the suspected presence, in the English Fleet, of that *bête noire* of Philip the Second, Antonio Perez, and of another Antonio, son to the claimant of the crown of Portugal. Whether the examinant chanced to be a Cornish foremast-man, an Irish soldier, or an English boy-student[1] (who had, according to his own statement, embarked on board the Fleet, simply to get a quick and cheap passage to a Spanish university), he was closely questioned as to his knowledge of the Antonios, as well as of the secret objects and original plans of the Expedition, and of the information which had reached its commanders on their way.[2]

One "Juan Prugs," a sailor, who is described as "native of a suburb of London" (which one would scarcely have suspected from his name), whilst denying all knowledge of the fugitive Secretary of the King of Spain, deposed that he saw at Plymouth some Spaniards who were said to be about to embark in the Fleet. It seems that a son, if not two sons, of the titular King of Portugal really sailed with the Expedition. Perez had just before returned to France; after helping, as Essex himself declares, to hinder, not further, the enterprise then in hand: by "feeding the Queen in her irresolution."[3]

All the accounts agree in showing how entirely the policy pursued by Philip the Second had stripped the most vital parts of the kingdom of adequate defence. After the English Fleet

[1] "*Duarte de Aquin, que es de la provincià de Darvi*,"—which may perhaps be translated "Edward Hawkins, or Dawkins, a Devonian?"

[2] Amongst these witnesses were four Irishmen who deserted from the army in Cadiz on the 2nd of July [12th of Spanish accounts], with the intention of joining the Spaniards, because they were Catholics, and because they had heard that an Irish gentleman, described as calling himself "Mores Marchas, tio del Conde de Semont,"—to whom some of them were tenants,—was at the Spanish Court, and would be likely to find an opening for them in Philip's army.

[3] Earl of Essex to Edward Reynolds, MS. Tenison, dclvii. f. 93 (Lambeth Palace).

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had left Cadiz, the Duke of Medina Sidonia wrote to the Secretary of State at Madrid, that in the course of seventeen days, and in a province so populous as Andalusia, it had not been possible for him to get together so many as 4,000 effective men or 800 horse.[1] Another great officer wrote on the same day, to the King himself, that from this denudation of troops the English possessed, for a fortnight, the spoils of Cadiz, of the whole island, and of the vicinity, with as much of security and quiet enjoyment as they could have had in their quarters on the banks of the Thames.[2] This being so, it is no wonder that the English commanders found the maintenance of discipline a hard task. As Ralegh here says: "The tumultuous disordered soldiers, being then given to spoil and rapine, had no respect."

Another point on which the Spaniards were very earnest and minute in their inquiries was the rank and family connexions of the English leaders. To master some of the names they found to be at least as difficult as the owners had found it to be to master Cadiz. At length a Spaniard was discovered who declared himself "*muy practico de la lengua inglesa.*" Beginning with the 'Conde de Esiques' and the Admiral,—"son of the Duke of Norfolk, whose head the Queen cut off,"—he comes to Ralegh, to whom he assigns precisely the dignity Sir Walter was very ambitious of, but could never obtain—that of Privy Councillor;[3] though he, many times, exercised its functions.

[1] Duque de Medina Sidonia al Secretario D. Mart. de Idraquez; 16 de Julio, 1596.

[2] Don Luis Fajardo á Su Magestad del Puerto de S. Maria; 16 de Julio, 1596.

[3] "Guaterrale, consejero, coronel de un tercio."

## LXIX.

### TO A PERSON UNNAMED.

As printed in 1699, by PHILIP RALEGH, Grandson of Sir WALTER, from a copy, or draft, found among Sir WALTER RALEGH'S Papers.

LETTER LXIX. 1596.

To a person unnamed.

Narrative of the Action in Cadiz Harbour.

YOU shall receive many Relations, but none more true than this. May it please your Honour, therefore, to know, that on Sunday, being the 20th of June, the English fleet came to anchor in the bay of St. Sebastians, short of Cales half a league. My Lord Admiral,[1] being careful of her Majesty's ships, had resolved with the Earl of ESSEX that the town should be first attempted; to the end that both the Spanish gallions and galleys, together with the forts of Cales, might not all at once beat upon our navy.[2] My self was not present at the

[1] Charles Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, and afterwards Earl of Nottingham.

[2] It was probably from the sight of the preparations for this conference between Essex and Howard—one of the Queen's ships hoisting a flag at her poop and firing a gun; after which many boats were seen, by the watchful eyes of the Spaniards, to come off to her—that the President Pedro Gutierrez Florez wrote to Philip II., on this same 20th of June (30th of the Spanish documents), that the enemy, "at sight of the galleys and ships—more than 40 in number—which were in the bay, seemed afraid to enter, or at least summoned a council to consider what should be done," &c. (Gutierrez Florez to the King. Cadiz, postrero de Junio, 1596. Archives of Simancas. *Secretaria de Estado*, Bundle 177. Printed in Navarrete's *Coleccion de Documentos ineditos*, Tomo xxxvi. pp. 208, 209.) The President at Cadiz adds, that the sails had been counted, and that there appeared to be twelve ships of war of upwards of 600 tons, and 100 other ships of from 300 tons upwards, "forming the most beautiful fleet that was ever seen (*la mas hermosa armada que se ha visto*);" that they formed four squadrons—having eight flag-ships—and that thence the Spaniards inferred that the fleet was composed of *French* ships, as well as of English and Flemish.—Ibid. (Navarrete, Pidal, and others, as before, p. 209.) The

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resolution; for I was sent the day before towards the Main, to stop such as might pass out from St. Lucar, or Cales, along the coast. When I was arrived back again (which was two hours after the rest), I found the Earl of ESSEX disembarking his soldiers; and he had put many companies into boats, purposing to make his descent on the west side of Cales; but such was the greatness of the billow, by reason of a forcible southerly wind, as the boats were ready to sink at the stern of the Earl; and indeed divers did so, and in them some of the armed men; but because it was formerly resolved (and that to cast doubts would have been esteemed an effect of fear), the Earl purposed to go on, until such time as I came aboard him, and in the presence of all the collonels protested against the resolution; giving him reasons, and making apparent demonstrations that he thereby ran the way of our general ruin, to the utter overthrow of the whole armies, their own lives, and her Majesty's future safety. The Earl excused himself, and laid it to the Lord Admiral, who (he said) 'would not consent to enter with the fleet till the town were first possessed.' All the commanders and gentlemen present besought me to disswade the attempt; for they all perceived the danger, and were resolved that the most part could not but perish in the sea, ere they came to set foot on ground; and if any arrived on shoar, yet were they sure to have their boats cast on their heads; and that twenty men in so desperate a descent would have defeated them all. The Earl, hereupon, prayed me to perswade my Lord

Duke of Medina Sidonia wrote to the King, on the following day, that the enemy's ships—to the number of eighty—were first seen off Lagos, on the 25th [15th of English style], but that the news did not reach him until the 29th.—Archives: *Secretaria de Guerra*, Bund. 475. (Navarrete, &c. p. 220.)

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Admiral, who, finding a certain destruction by the former resolution, was content to enter the port.

When I brought news of this agreement to the Earl, calling out of my boat upon him, *Entramus*,[1] he cast his hat into the sea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor.

The day was now far spent, and it required much time to return the boats of soldiers to their own ships; so as we could not that night attempt the fleet, although many (seeming desperately valiant) thought it a fault of mine to put it off till the morning; albeit we had neither agreed in what manner to fight, nor appointed who should lead, and who should second; whether by boarding or otherwise; neither could our fleet possibly recover all their men in, before sun-set. But both the Generals being pleased to hear me, and many times to be advised by so mean an understanding, came again to an anchor in the very mouth of the Harbour; so that night, about ten of the clock, I wrote a letter to the Lord Admiral, declaring therein my opinion how the fight should be ordered: persuading him to appoint to each of the great gallions of Spain two great fly-boats to board them, after such time as the Queen's ships had battered them; for I knew that both the *St. Philip* and the rest would burn, and not yeild; and then to lose so many of the Queen's for company, I thought it too dear a purchase, and it would be termed but a lamentable victory.

This being agreed on, and both the Generals perswaded to lead the body of the fleet, the charge for the performance thereof [was [2]] (upon my humble suit) granted and assigned unto me. The ships appointed to second me were these: the *Mary Rose*, commanded by Sir GEORGE CAREW; the *Lion*, by Sir ROBERT SOUTHWELL; the *Rainbow*, by the Marshal, Sir FRANCIS

[1] So printed in the edit. of 1697-1700. [2] Omitted in original edition.

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VEARE; the *Swiftsure*, by Captain CROSSE; the *Dreadnaught*, by Sir CONYERS and ALEXANDER CLIFFORD; the *Nonpareill*, by Mr. DUDLEY;[1] the twelve ships of London; with certain fly-boats.

The Lord THOMAS HOWARD,—because the *Meere-Honour*,[2] which he commanded, was one of the greatest ships,—was also left behind with the Generals; but being impatient thereof, pressed the Generals to have the service committed unto him, and left the *Meer-Honour* to Mr. DUDLEY, putting himself into the *Nonpareill*. For mine own part, as I was willing to give honour to my Lord THOMAS, having both precedency in the army, and being a nobleman whom I much honoured, so yet I was resolved to give and not take example for this service; holding mine own reputation dearest, and remembering my great duty to her Majesty. With the first peep of day, therefore, I weighed anchor, and bare with the Spanish fleet, taking the start of all ours a good distance.

Now, Sir, may it please you to understand, that there were ranged under the wall of Cales, on which the sea beateth, seventeen galleys, which lay with their prowes to flank our entrance, as we passed towards the gallions. There was also a fort called the *Philip*, which beat and commanded the harbour. There were also ordnance, which lay all alongst the curtain upon the wall towards the sea. There were also divers other pieces of culverin, which also scowred the channel. Notwithstanding, as soon as the *St. Philip* perceived one of the Admirals under sail approaching, she also set sail, and with her the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Thomas*, the *St. Andrew*, the two great gallions of Lisbon, three frigots of war, accustomed to transport the treasure; two argosies, very

[1] Afterwards Sir Robert Dudley and titular Duke of Northumberland.

[2] *Meer-Honour*, a famous ship of the Queen's Navy.

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strong in artillery; the Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and Rear-Admiral of Nueva Espagna; with forty other great ships, bound for Mexico, and other places. Of all which, the *St. Philip*, the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Andrew*, and the *St. Thomas*, being four of the Royal Ships of Spain, came again to anchor under the fort of Puntall, in a streight of the harbour which leadeth towards Puerto Reall. On the right hand of them they placed the three frigots; on the back the two gallions of Lisbon, and the argosies; and the seventeen galleys, by three and three, to interlace them, as occasion should be offered. The Admiral, Vice-Admiral, and the Rear-Admiral of Nueva Espagna, with the body of the fleet, were placed behind them towards Puerto Reall; hoping with this great strength to defend the entrance; the place being no broader from point to point than that these did in effect stretch over as a bridge, and had besides the fort of Puntall to their guard. But the seventeen galleys did not at the first depart with the rest, but stayed by the town, with all their prowes bent against us as we enterd; with which, together with the artillery of the town and forts, they hoped to have stumbled the leading ship, and doubted not thereby but to have discouraged the rest.

Having, as aforesaid, taken the leading, I was first saluted by the Fort called *Philip*, afterwards by the ordnance on the curtain, and lastly by all the galleys, in good order. To show scorn to all which, I only answered first the fort, and afterward the galleys, to each piece a blurr with a trumpet; disdaining to shoot one piece at any one or all of those esteemed dreadful monsters. The ships that followed beat upon the galleys so thick that they soon betook them to their oars, and got up to joyn with the gallions in the streight, as aforesaid; and

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then, as they were driven to come near me, and inforced to range their sides towards me, I bestowed a benediction amongst them.

But the *St. Philip*, the great and famous Admiral of Spain, was the mark I shot at; esteeming those galleys but as wasps in respect of the powerfulness of the other; and being resolved to be revenged for the *Revenge*, or to second her with mine own life, I came to anchor by the gallions; of which the *Philip* and *Andrew* were two that boarded the *Revenge*. I was formerly commanded not to board, but was promised fly-boats, in which, after I had battered a while, I resolved to joyn unto them.

My Lord THOMAS came to anchor by me, on the one hand, with the *Lyon;* the *Mary Rose*, on the other, with the *Dreadnaught;* the Marshal,[1] toward the side of *Puntall;* and towards ten of the clock, my Lord General ESSEX, being impatient to abide far off, hearing so great thunder of ordnance, thrust up through the fleet, and headed all those on the left hand, coming to anchor next unto me on that side; and afterward came in the *Swiftsure*, as near as she could. Always I must, without glory, say for myself, that I held single in the head of all.

Now, after we had beat, as two buts, one upon another almost three hours (assuring your Honour that the volleys of cannon and culverin came as thick as if it had been a skirmish of musketeers), and finding myself in danger to be sunk in the place, I went to my Lord General in my skiff, to desire him that he would inforce the promised fly-boats to come up, that I might board; for as I rid, I could not endure so great battery any long time. My Lord General was then coming up himself; to whom I declared that if the fly-boats came not,

[1] Sir Francis Vere.

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I would board with the Queen's ship; for it was the same loss to burn, or sink, for I must endure the one. The Earl finding that it was not in his power to command fear, told me that, whatsoever I did, he would second me in person, upon his honour. My Lord Admiral, having also a disposition to come up at first, but the river was so choked as he could not pass with the *Ark*, came up in person into the *Nonpereill*, with my Lord THOMAS.

While I was thus speaking with the Earl, the Marshal, who thought it some touch to his great esteemed valour to ride behind me so many hours, got up ahead my ship; which my Lord THOMAS perceiving headed him again;—my self being but a quarter of an hour absent. At my return, finding my self from being the first to be but the third, I presently let slip anchor, and thrust in between my Lord THOMAS and the Marshal, and went up further ahead than all them before, and thrust my self athwart the channel; so as I was sure none should outstart me again, for that day. My Lord General ESSEX, thinking his ship's side stronger than the rest, thrust the *Dreadnaught* aside, and came next the *Warspight* on the left hand; ahead all that rank, but my Lord THOMAS. The Marshal, while we had no leisure to look behind us, secretly fastened a rope on my ship's side towards him, to draw himself up equally with me; but some of my company advertizing me thereof, I caused it to be cut off, and so he fell back into his place; whom I guarded, all but his very prowe, from the sight of the enemy.

Now if it please you to remember, that having no hope of my fly-boats to board, and that the Earl and my Lord THOMAS both promised to second me, I laid out a warp by the side of the *Philip* to shake hands with

her (for with the wind we could not get aboard): which when she and the rest perceivèd, finding also that the *Repulse* (seeing mine) began to do the like, and the Rear-Admiral my Lord THOMAS, they all let slip, and ran aground, tumbling into the sea heaps of souldiers, so thick as if coals had been powred out of a sack in many ports at once; some drowned and some sticking in the mud. The *Philip* and the *St. Thomas* burnt themselves: the *St. Matthew* and the *St. Andrew* were recovered with our boats ere they could get out to fire them. The spectacle was very lamentable on their side; for many drowned themselves; many, half burnt, leapt into the water; very many hanging by the ropes' ends by the ships' side, under the water even to the lips; many swimming with grievous wounds, strucken under water, and put out of their pain; and withal so huge a fire, and such tearing of the ordnance in the great *Philip*, and the rest, when the fire came to them, as, if any man had a desire to see Hell itself, it was there most lively figured. Our selves spared the lives of all, after the victory; but the Flemmings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter, till they were by my self, and afterward by my Lord Admiral, beaten off.[1]

The ships that abode the fight in the morning till ten aclock, were the *Warspight*, the *Nonpareill*, the *Lyon*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Rainbow*, and the *Dreadnaught*. To

[1] The Spanish account, after describing the entry of Ralegh's squadron into the Bay, goes on to describe the retreat of the Spanish fleet under the fort of Puntal, and then proceeds thus: ". . . . quedando en la boca del los dichos galeones y las galeras, se fueron arrimando á ellos los mayores navios del inglés, y se han acañoneado *pasadas de cuatra horas* con tanta fuerza de artilleria que los galeones *San Felipe* y *San Andrés* queriendo virar para entrar mas adentro se quedaron en seco, y asi se han perdido, echándose á nado la gente dellos, *y los ingleses pegaron fuego á Sant Felipe* y lo mismo harán de los demás," &c.—Duke of Medina Sidonia to the King of Spain; Puerto Real, 1 Julio, 1596 [21st June, O. S.].

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second these came up the Earl and the *Swiftsure;* and these were all that did ought against six goodly gallions, two argosies, three frigots, seventeen galleys, and the Fort of Puntall, backed by the Admiral of Nueva Espana, and others; in all, fifty-five or fifty-seven.

This being happily finished, we prepared to land the army, and to attempt the town; in which there were, of all sorts, some five thousand foot burgers, one hundred and fifty souldiers in pay, and some eight hundred horse of the gentry and cavalleros of Xerez, gathered together upon the discovery of our fleet two days before, while we were becalmed off Cape St. Mary. The horsemen sallied out to resist the landing; but were so well withstood that they most took their way toward the bridge which leadeth into the Main, called Puento Souse; the rest retired to the town, and so hardly followed, as they were driven to leave their horses at the port (which the inhabitants durst not open, to let them in), and so they leapt down an old wall into the suburbs; and being so closely followed by the vanguard of our footmen, as, when the General perceived an entrance there, he thought it was possible for ours to do the like; upon which occasion the town was carried with a sudden fury, and with little loss; only Sir JOHN WINGFEILD was slain; Sir EDWARD WINGFEILD, Captain BAGNOLL, and Captain MEDICK hurt; other men of quality, few or none.

For the particular behaviours of any that entered, I cannot otherwise deliver than by report; for I received a grievous blow in my leg, interlaced and deformed with splinters, in the fight. Yet, being desirous to see every man's disposition, I was carried ashoar on men's shoulders; and as soon as my horse was recovered, my Lord Admiral sent one unto me, but I was not able to abide above an hour in the town, for the torment I

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suffered, and for the fear I had to be shouldred in the press, and among the tumultuous disordered soldiers, that, being then given to spoyl and rapine, had no respect. The same night I returned; chiefly for that there was no Admiral left to order the Fleet, and indeed few or no people in the Navy; all running headlong to the sack; and, secondly, because I was unfit for ought but ease at that time.

At the break of day following, I sent to the General to have order to follow the fleet of ships bound for the Indies; which were said to be worth twelve millions, and lay in Puerto Reall road, where they could not escape. But, the town new taken, and the confusion great, it was almost impossible for them to order many things at once; so as I could not receive any answer to my desire.

The afternoon of the same day, those which were merchants of Cales and Sevil offered the Generals two millions to spare the fleet; whereupon there was nothing done for the present. But the morning following, being the twenty-third of June, the Duke of MEDINA caused all that fleet of merchants to be set on fire; because he was resolved that they must needs have fallen into our hands; so as now both gallions, frigots, argosies, and all other ships of war, together with the fleet of Nueva Espagna, were all committed into ashes; only the *St. Matthew* and the *St. Andrew* were in our possession. Much of the ordnance of the *St. Philip* hath been saved by the Flemmings, who have had great spoil. There is imbarked good store of ordnance out of the town; and the two Apostles aforesaid are well furnished, which (God willing) we purpose to bring into England.

The town of Cales was very rich in merchandize, in plate, and money; many rich prisoners given to the land commanders; so as that sort are very rich. Some had

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prisoners for sixteen thousand duccats; some for twenty thousand; some for ten thousand;[1] and, besides, great houses of merchandize. What the Generals have gotten, I know least; they protest it is little. For my own part, I have gotten a lame leg, and a deformed. For the rest, either I spake too late, or it was otherwise resolved. I have not wanted good words, and exceeding kind and regardful usancc. But I have possession of naught but poverty and pain. If God had spared me that blow, I had possesst myself of some House.

[1] The President of the '*Contratacion*,' or Chamber of Commerce, of Cadiz, gave what (to the reader) is a most amusing account of one part of the preliminary 'haggling of the market,' to these and the like bargains for ransom, in a letter to his fellow-officials of the *Contratacion*, dated 5th July (25th June, O.S.), which narrates his personal adventures when taken prisoner by the English. After much prefatory talk about his poverty, he made an offer, he says, of 300 ducats,—after he had been asked 20,000, a little while before. Of this offer, the Englishmen made great derision (*han hecho muchar burla de mi*). Presently, he offered 1,000 ducats, and there the matter rested for the night. In the morning, he thought it expedient to double the offer. But his captors replied that they would not be content with a real less than 10,000 ducats; knowing that the President was "the principal man in Andalusia, and had under his charge all the gold and silver that came from the Indies." When his letter was written, he was still in captivity. The news of the burning of the fleet had just then arrived.—*Carta del Dr. Pedro Gutierrez Flores . . . . á los Oficiales de la Contratacion.* De Cádiz en 5 de Julio, 1596. (*Coleccion*, &c. ut sup. vol. xxxvi. pp. 271—273.)

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXX.—*DEATH OF LADY CECIL—CECIL AND THE BROOKES.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXX.

1596-1597.

THE circumstance that the wife of Robert Cecil was the sister of two of the unhappy Conspirators of 1603 adds something to the interest of the letter at which we now arrive. That interest is great, intrinsically, for almost every line of the letter is characteristic. The writer, indeed, attained at length to a riper wisdom than that of which we have here the sententious and somewhat laboured expression. His mind grew, eventually, up to the knowledge that sorrows are capable of rendering "other service than to multiply harms;" and that they are not, always, "dangerous companions, converting bad into evil, and evil into worse." He learnt (in course of time) that grief may become, in a certain and pregnant sense, "the treasure" of quite other men than fools,—of men '*who going through the vale of misery use it for a well; and the pools are filled with water.*' But he attained to this knowledge only with extreme slowness,—at a late period of life, and after using desperate exertions in the hewing out of very leaky cisterns of comfort. Perhaps few men of like mental calibre have taken so long a time to learn the lessons of bereavement, or the uses of adversity. The task, however, was got by heart at last. In the letter before us we have Ralegh's crude notions about the theme, before he had really learnt a line of it.

This letter on Lady Cecil's death is also interesting as bearing strong through indirect testimony to the existence of some fine qualities in her husband. No one who knew Robert Cecil so intimately as Ralegh did, would have written thus, save under a conviction that the man to whom he was giving such consolation as he then had to give had loved truly and

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would grieve deeply. One feels in reading the letter that it is written to a real mourner and upon a real loss. Other friends and correspondents of Cecil, who had enjoyed like closeness of access, bear like evidence,—both to the worth of the dead and to the unselfishness of the grief. The Lord Admiral (Howard of Effingham) writes thus to Cecil on this occasion: "She was to vertuos and good to live in so wretched a world. And you that hath an extraordinary jugment, by his gevte that dowth all, much nede that wysdome. Seke now to master your good and kynd nature and to thynk that sorro, nor any thyng els, can now redeme it. And as she is now, most asured, hapyer than all we that live in this pudeled and trubled world, so dow I asure yow, as long as God shall spare me lyfe in it ther shall not any tred on the erthe that shal love you beter then my poure self."[1]

We may take Lord Howard's testimony on the point in hand, without attaching overmuch meaning to his pious moralizings. For himself, and for his family, he was just as proud, as ambitious, and as covetous, as ever. His relish for the pomps and vanities of "this puddled and troubled world" was still as keen as it had always been. Some eight months earlier he had written to Sir Robert Cecil one of the most curiously impulsive, egotistical, and angry letters that even our Elizabethan repertories—much abounding in that sort of literature—can show. Under the excitement created by a passing royal rebuke, he made pretence to the Secretary that he was ready to pitch the High Admiralship of England to the feet of the first comer, merely because some official right "ever before enjoyed," as he said, "by admyralls of my name," had been infringed, or was thought to have been infringed, upon. His indignation at the straitening of his prerogatives rose so high as to make him utter the wish, "I had drowned by the way, before I aryved at this place."[2] A

[1] Lord Howard of Effingham to Sir R. Cecil, Jan. 1596-1597; *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxviii. (Hatfield).

[2] Ibid. vol. xl. § 6.

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few weeks or months have passed; and now, whilst imparting tender consolation to the Queen's Secretary on his bereavement, the consoler has his eye intent on the weather-tokens at Court. He knows how much the recent months have increased Cecil's power and influence. He thinks the Secretary's greatness to be still on the growing hand, and his gushing affection almost overpowers him. He winds up his letter of condolence thus: "I vow it to God," he adds, "I thynk none dowth or cane so much love you, as I dow."[1]

Cecil himself seems always to have spoken of his lost wife in terms entirely consonant with those employed by Howard and by Ralegh. The allusions to Lady Cecil in those of his letters which are preserved at Hatfield, commonly occur in his extensive correspondence with her unfortunate brothers. The consolers of 1597, could they have raised a corner of the veil of the years then swiftly speeding onward, would have seen, in Lady Cecil's case, with more than usual clearness, the special force of the expression—'taken *from the evil to come.*'

One of those allusions is of great, though merely incidental, interest in the biography of Ralegh. George Brooke had written to his brother-in-law, in the January of 1603—only eight months before his execution—a somewhat strange letter, Cecil's reply to which is preserved. That letter shows that Cecil had employed Brooke in some agencies—of which nothing more is apparent, on the face, than that they were in some sort political—and that Brooke mistrusted the extent of Cecil's real confidence in him. It also shows that he was jealous of the greater favour borne, as he thought, by Cecil to their brother, Lord Cobham, with whom at that moment, it would seem, he himself was not on very good terms.[2] And

[1] *Cecil Papers* (Jan. 1596-1597), vol. xxxvii. (Hatfield).

[2] This dissension, however, had not usually existed between the brothers. Only a short time before, honest William Lambarde, who was one of the executors of William Lord Cobham—father of the Brookes,—when writing to Lord Burghley about the provisions of Lord Cobham's Will, tells him

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he protests, in somewhat angry words, that his own "metal was as pure as any, howsoever it be valued." Cecil replies thus:—"Your care to send me your servant is very welcome, for care is the companion of love. And the dearest bond that ever I was tyed in made me think that I might challenge it; except I could have accused myself to have justly lost it. For the sending to my Lord [Cobham], and not to you, it proceeded of no private indisposition towards you, but from the inwardness of my conversation with my Lord which both our fortunes hath established in this place where we both ordinarily live; as also, this[1] being so far from my esteeming worth inquisition. I made bold with his Lordship to do me the courtesy—rather accidentally than immediately—to advertise me of some circumstances which made my friends carefuller than I was to beat out that, of which for myself, I thank God, I have made my audit; as of all other hopes or fears, but of God's providence. For an answer to your profession to be made of 'as pure a metal as any, howsoever you are valued:' for the first part, Sir, if you remember, from what stock you are a branch,—you may conclude that *I* need no remembrance, being, next yourself, as well able to guess at the mixture as any, when I conceive that if any composition could be purer than other, I had most tryal of it, to my infinite comfort; till God found me fit to be corrected with the privation. For the second part, which concerns your value, I can say no more than this, that the purest gold may be touched with pitch, and so less valuable to those that otherwise would have prized it. That pitch, I mean,—credulity of the practices of malice and envy; whereof, when you shall make separation, I confess there remains nothing of the solid but that which may attract the best offices of him that never wronged you, but ever resolved to be your assured friend and brother-in-law, R. C."[2]

that the brothers live on terms exemplarily good. Lambarde's letter is one of great and curious interest. (MS. Harl. lxxxiii. British Museum.)

[1] *I.e.* the transaction respecting which he had sent to Cobham.

[2] *Cecil Papers*, vol. xci. § 85 (Hatfield).

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Whatever mysteries may yet hang over the plots and counter-plots of 1603, it is certain that George Brooke proved in the issue to have been the *instrument* of the ruin, alike of his brother Cobham and of Ralegh. It is also certain that mere "credulity of the practices of malice and envy" could never have ripened, save in a very congenial soil, into the consummate baseness displayed both in the examinations and in some of the letters of George Brooke, after his arrest. In certain particulars, his baseness exceeded his brother Cobham's; and that is saying not a little as to its depth. One letter of his, addressed to Robert Cecil,—less dishonourable to Brooke's memory than the letters just glanced at,—I have printed in the Appendix to this volume. There also the reader will find a very remarkable letter from the Bishop of Chichester respecting a statement made by Brooke immediately before the administration of the Holy Communion.

## LXX.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxvii. (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER LXX.

1596-1597. Jan. 24. To Sir R. Cecil. [From Sherborne.]

SIR,

BECAUSE I know not how you dispose of your sealf, I forbeare to vissitt yow; preferringe your plesinge before myne own desire. I had rather be with yow now then att any other tyme, if I could therby ether take of[1] frome yow the burden of your sorrows, or lay the greater part therof on myne owne hart. In the mean tyme, I would butt minde yow of this,—that yow should not

[1] *off.*

LETTER LXX.

1596-1597. Jan. 24.

A letter of sympathy and consolation on the death of Lady Cecil.

overshaddo your wisdome with passion, butt looke aright into things as the [1] are.

There is no man sorry for death it sealf, butt only for the tyme of death; every one knowing that it is a bonnd never forfeted to God. If then wee know the same to be certayne and inevitable, wee ought withall to take the tyme of his arivall in as good part as the knowledge; and not to lament att the instant of every seeminge adversety, whiche, we ar asured, have bynn on ther way towards us from the begininge. It apartayneth to every man of a wize and worthy spirritt to draw together into sufferance the unknown future to the known present; lookinge no less with the eyes of the minde then thos of the boddy—the one beholdinge afar of, and the other att hand—that thos things of this worlde in which we live be not strange unto us, when the [1] approach, as to febleness, which is moved with noveltes. Butt that, like trew men, participating immortalletye, and know[ing] our destines to be of God, wee do then make our estates and wishes, our fortunes and desires, all one.

It is trew that yow have lost a good and vertuous wife, and my sealf an honorable frinde and kynswoman. Butt ther was a tyme when shee was unknowne to yow, for whom yow then lamented not. Shee is now no more your's, nor of your acquayntance, butt immortall, and not needinge or knowing your love or sorrow. Therfore yow shall but greve for that which now is as then it was, when not your's; only bettered by the differance in this, that shee hath past the weresome jurney of this darke worlde, and hath possession of her inheritance.

Shee hath left behind her the frute of her love, for whos sakes yow ought to care for your sealf, that yow leve them not without a gwyde, and not by grevinge to

[1] *they.*

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repine att His will that gave them yow, or by sorrowing to dry up your own tymes that ought to establishe them.

I beleve it that sorrows are dangerus cumpanions, converting badd into yevill and yevill in worse, and do no other service then multeply harms. They ar the treasures of weak harts and of the foolishe. The minde that entertayneth them is as the yearth and dust wheron sorrows and adversetes of the world do, as the beasts of the field, tread, trample, and defile. The minde of man is that part of God which is in us, which, by how mich it is subject to passion, by so mich it is farther from Hyme that gave it us. Sorrows draw not the dead to life, butt the livinge to death. And, if I weare my sealf to advize my sealf in the like, I would never forgett my patience till I saw all and the worst of yevills, and so greve for all att once; least, lamenting for sume one, another might not remayne in the poure of Destiney of greater discumfort.

Your's ever beyound the pour of words to utter,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritary to her Majestye.*

Endorsed: "24 *January*, 1596 [*legal style*]. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master:*" and beneath, in the hand of William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury: "*Sir Walter Ralegh's letter to my Father, touching the deathe of my Mother.*"

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER LXXI.—*RALEGH, ESSEX, AND THE 'RICHARD THE SECOND' OF SHAKESPEARE.*

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1597.

IT is much easier to explain what it is which in this interesting—but somewhat obscure—letter, Ralegh tells Cecil it is his wish "shall never alter," and the continuance of which he believes to be "the trew way to all our good," than even to conjecture what was that "conceit of *Richard the Second*" which, when communicated to him from Cecil, made the Earl of Essex so merry. Our curiosity about that is the more reasonably excited, inasmuch as the comic merriment of 1597,—if it grew out of the Play,—turned into very tragic grief in 1601. All readers remember the remarkable way in which '*Richard the Second*' figures in the last scenes of the life and death of Essex, and of his associates. Probably, if it were possible to find the letter of Cecil to which this is a reply, a gleam of strong light would be thrown,—perhaps on that strange incident itself of 1601, but certainly on one of the most obscure points in the literary history of the Plays of Shakespeare. All Cecil's letters to Ralegh, however, have disappeared.

The quarrels of the myriad of Shakespeare 'commentators' are far less surprising than is their marvellous agreement whenever they have to face a real historical difficulty. Whether or not a Play of Shakespeare helped, in its measure, to take the head of Essex from his shoulders is a question—both literary and historical—very worthy of earnest research. To a man, the commentators have been telling us (now for almost two centuries) that there was an "*old play*," on the "*Deposition of Richard the Second*," which "Sir Gilly Meyrick procured to be played before the Conspirators" on the eve of the Essex insurrection; and that this "old play" was certainly "not

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Shakespeare's." When one inquires on what *evidence* this confident assertion rests, the only attainable answer is that there is no evidence at all. Camden's expression—'tragediam *exoletam*,' and the resembling words in the depositions, preserved amongst our State Papers, prove nothing, either way. It can need no argument to show that a play which had had a great run in 1597 might be very 'stale' to the playgoers of 1601; even if, in 1597, it had been new. Of an older play than Shakespeare's "*de tragicâ abdicatione regis Ricardi Secundi*," as Camden calls it, no commentator or anybody else, of recent days, ever saw a line. A playgoer of the time of James the First has left, however, a notice of the performance of a play, about Richard the Second, which seems to be plainly other than Shakespeare's (whether it were really older or later). But of *that* play, all the commentators again, who have written since the discovery of the notice of it, agree in asserting that it cannot,—from the terms in which its contents are minutely described by the auditor of 1611,—be the play which was performed before the Essex conspirators in 1601. On that theory, therefore, we are shut up to these three conclusions:—(1) That there were *two* old plays on the story of King Richard the Second, of neither of which a line is now known to have been preserved; (2) That *both* had actual possession of the stage at some time within the years 1601—1611; (3) That *both* held such occasional possession, notwithstanding the great popularity, on the same boards, and as performed by the same company, of Shakespeare's play;—a stage popularity so great, as to be followed by the *printing* of two several editions, in the years 1597-98, within a few months of each other. All this may really be true; but it is a somewhat tall superstructure for such a slight foundation as the one word '*exoleta*' in Camden's *Annals*, or the words 'old' and 'stale' in the Depositions of 1601; even when conjoined with the curious entry printed by Mr. Collier from Simon Forman's note-book of 1611.

How worthily interesting this small item of our literary

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history is will, perhaps, be best seen, if the ascertained points of information about it be simply enumerated, in their order of date:—

I. In July 1597, Ralegh writes to Cecil that the Earl of Essex was "wonderfull merry att Cecil's consait of *Richard the Second*."[1]

II. In August 1597, Andrew Wyse entered at Stationers' Hall his copyright in Shakespeare's "*Tragedye of Richard the Seconde;*" and presently afterwards published (without the author's name) an edition of it, printed by Valentine Symmes.[2]

III. Early in 1598, Andrew Wyse entered and published a new edition, with the author's name, and from the press of the same printer.[3] Neither of these printed editions contains what is called the "Deposition Scene." But there is ample reason to believe that the omitted scene was performed, though not printed.

IV. Between July 1597 and February 1601, several new plays by Shakespeare,—and many other new plays, of course, by other authors,—were produced and repeatedly performed in London.[4]

V. On the 7th February, 1601, Sir Gilly Meyrick—one of the most conspicuous partisans and personal followers of the Earl of Essex, as well as an officer of his household—desired the players of Shakespeare's company to perform "the Play of the Deposition of King Richard the Second." Augustyne Phillips, one of that company, objected to the choice, "holding," as he afterwards told the Lords of the Council, on his oath,—"that play to be so old and so long out of yous, that they should have small or no cumpany at yt."[5] Whereupon, to remove the objection, Meyrick

[1] Letter LXXI. hereafter.

[2] *Register of Stationers Company*, under A.D. 1597.

[3] Ibid., under A.D. 1598. [4] *Annals of the English Stage*, 1597-1601.

[5] *Domestic Corresp.*: Eliz. 1601. (Unnumbered Papers. Rolls House.)

gave the players forty shillings; and the play was performed.[1] There is no evidence that Essex saw it; although he was charged by the Crown lawyers—after their manner—with having feasted his eyes, by way of foretaste, on the show of that which he hoped afterwards to execute—the deposition of his sovereign.[2]

Can the merry "conceit of *Richard the Second*," of this letter written by Sir W. Ralegh in July 1597, refer to the tragedy known to have been about that very time in course of performance at the Globe Theatre in London? If it probably does so refer, What passage or incident in the Play can, at that date, have turned Cecil's thoughts towards the Earl of Essex? As we all know, '*King Richard the Second*' abounds in passages which glorify the "anointing balm," and denounce the hands that impiously dare to "gripe the sacred handle of the sceptre." Yet Shakespeare's 'deposition scene' was never *printed*, so long as Queen Elizabeth lived. It appeared first, in print, in the Edition of 1608. And finally, To what performance was it that the Queen herself alluded, when, in her curious conversation about the Pandects of the Records, with William Lambarde, on the 4th of August, 1601, she suddenly startled him, by exclaiming—"I am *Richard the Second*, know you not that?" and was answered: "Such a wicked imagination was, indeed, attempted by a most unkind gentleman, the most adorned creature that ever your Majesty made;"—the Queen herself presently adding:—"That tragedy was played forty times in open streets and houses."[3]

These questions are more easily asked than satisfactorily answered. But it becomes obvious that the supposition of the performance—in 1601—of "an old play" called '*Richard the Second*,' now totally unknown, leaves at least as many difficulties

[1] *Domestic Corresp.*: Eliz. 1601. (Unnumbered Papers. Rolls House.)
[2] Ibid.; and *Trial of the Earl of Essex*, Appendix.
[3] MS. Addit. 15664, fol. 226. (British Museum.)

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as it removes. There are in Shakespeare's play incidental passages—as, for example, that famous passage in which the Duke of Hereford is depicted as "wooing poor craftsmen with the craft of smiles"—which bring Essex to the reader's mind irresistibly, without any reference whatever to the Meyrick incident of 1601. Shakespeare might well have painted that whole passage from the life, and have had the Earl of Essex as his sitter. That Cecil's application of some passage or other—either in a play or in a book, entitled '*Richard the Second*,' and recently seen or read,—to the Earl can (in 1597) have conveyed no serious imputation of *disloyalty*, is just as certain as it is that Ralegh's anticipation, in our present letter, of "the better progression" of the Queen's affairs was pointed at the recent union—or apparent union—of Essex and Cecil, which had been brought about by his own efforts and agency. The same post that on the 6th of July carried this letter from Weymouth to Sir Robert Cecil at Court, carried one from the Earl to the Queen (written at the same place, on the same day), in which he expresses his loyal devotion to her service, in terms that seem to bear the stamp of sincerity.

The prosperity of a jest is said to lie in the receptive ear. It is quite as true that the perception, or apprehension, of public harm in a play has many times lain entirely in the sudden application, by an eager audience, of some striking phrase or passage to some passing incident which had recently excited public feeling. And it has sometimes happened that the author has been not the least surprised observer of the uproar. If evidence should hereafter be discovered that a Play, the performance of which was thought entirely harmless in 1597, awakened royal anger in 1601; the inconsistency will be a fact much less surprising than would be the proof,—if it be ever adduced,—that the friends of the Earl of Southampton, as well as of the Earl of Essex, applied to Shakespeare's company to perform, at the Globe Theatre, a Play of '*King Richard the Second*,' which was not his;—which was able to

keep the stage against his;—and of which every line has now disappeared. Thus far, however, such a belief has been an act of faith with Shakespeare's editors—from the days of Theobald down to our own.

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1597.

## LXXI.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. (Unarranged Papers.) Holograph. Without date of year. **(Rolls House.)**

LETTER LXXI.

1597. July 6.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Weymouth.

Preparations for Island Voyage.—"Richard the Second."

IN this hast and confusion of bussneses amonge so many wantes and so great hast, I hope you will pardon mee if I write litell, and that confusedly. Wee have all written for supply. I beseich yow to further it, or to looke for nothing att our hands; for the tyme, together with the multitude of mens boddes [?], hath such an advantage over us, as wee shall not be abell to retch the place of our greatest hope.

I acquaynted the Lord Generall[1] with your letter to mee, and your kynd acceptance of your enterteynemente;[2] hee was also wonderfull merry att your consait of '*Richard the Second*.'[3] I hope it shall never alter, and whereof I shall be most gladd of, as the trew way to all our good, quiett, and advancement, and most of all for Her sake whose affaires shall thereby fynd better

[1] The Earl of Essex.

[2] Essex and Ralegh had recently visited London, in company, and had been "entertained" by Cecil. Had they also diverted their minds by a visit, in company, to the Globe Theatre?

[3] See, in addition to the Prefatory Note on this Letter, a passage in Vol. I. p. 293.

LETTER LXXI. 1597. July 6.

progression. Sir, I will ever be your's; it is all I can saye, and I will performe it with my life, and with my fortune.

W. RALEGH.

Weymouth, the 6 of July [1597].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritary to Her Majesty.*

## LXXII.

### [TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL?]

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. (Unarranged Papers.) Without date of year. (Rolls House.)

*** It appears by passages in a letter from the Earl of Essex to Sir Robert Cecil, of the 23rd July, 1597, and in Cecil's reply to that letter, dated 26th July, that a third letter was written by Sir Walter Ralegh, intermediately between these despatches of the 18th and 20th July; which third letter is not now known to exist. The Earl says: "We wonder we have not a word from you. Sir Walter Ralegh wrote on Monday *and Tuesday*, and I sent Sir Thomas Gates on Wednesday,"[1] &c. Cecil answers: "For good Mr. Ralegh, who wonders at his own diligence (because diligence and he are not familiars[2]), it is true that on Wednesday night, I being

[1] *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth, as above. (Rolls House.)

[2] This expression has been elaborately commented upon, as if written by Cecil in the way of grave censure. The context shows that it is said ironically. Readers of this volume will not lack proof that Ralegh's "diligence" in writing was not less conspicuous than his energy in action; and must, occasionally, have been a little embarrassing to a much-worried Secretary of State. In the course—for example—of one May day, in the year immediately preceding, Sir Robert Cecil had been favoured with four letters from Ralegh.

at Greenwich and the Queen at Mr. Walsingham's, his letter found me; which I imparted on Thursday, as soon as the Queen was ready, unto her; and do confess that, in expectation to hear of you, we did defer answer until Friday. . . . Thus do you see that a man *whose fortune scants him of means to do you service*, will not bear coals to be accused of dulness; especially by your Rear-Admiral, who, making haste but once in a year, to write a letter in post, gave date from 'Weymouth' to his last despatch, which, by the circumstances, I knew was written from 'Plymouth.'"[1] The reader will observe that the despatch of the 18th [Monday] bears date from Plymouth, as does that also of the 20th [Wednesday]. It follows that,—if Cecil's statement be not entirely made in error,—Sir Walter must have written another despatch dated from Weymouth, on *Tuesday*, the 19th of July. And this would agree with the statement of Essex. The letter which follows has no address.

LETTER LXXII.

1597. July 18.

[To the Lords of the Council.] From Plymouth.

Disasters at the outset of the Island Voyage.—Refitting of the Fleet.

ALTHOUGH the news of our disseverance and storme-beaten fleet bee most unpleasinge and discumfortabell, as well unto us that have first felt and indured the sorrow and danger, as unto her Majestye, to whom wee had hoped to have presented sume better relation, yet the extremetes being such as the[2] are, I thought my sealf bound to advertize the same.

Wee departed Plymouth on Sundaye night, beinge the 10th of this monenth, and held cumpany till Monday night, beinge the 11th, when by reason of fowle weather with thonder and mich winde and rayne, and for abating sayle for the *Mathew* and the *Andrew*, I lost sight of my Lorde Generall.[3] On Twesday morninge, my sealf, the *Bonaventer*, the *Mathew*, and *Andrew*, were together, and steered for the North Cape, not doubtinge butt to have crost the fleet within six howres, butt att

[1] *Burghley Papers*, in MS. Lansdowne, lxxxv. § 19. (British Museum.)
[2] *they*.
[3] The Earl of Essex.

LETTER LXXII.
1597. July 18.

the instant the winde changed to the south, and blew vehemently; so as wee putt our sealves under our fore corses, and stood to the west into the sea. Butt on Twesday night I perceved the *Mathew* to labor very vehemently, and that shee could not indure that manner of standinge of,[1] and so putt her sealf a try with her mayne course; which I did also the better to hold her, and the *Andrew*, with mee, being both of myne own squadron. Notwithstandinge, in the morninge I had lost sight of them both, and of divers other flibotes nire mee overnight. The storme on Wensday grew more forsibell, and the seas grew very exceeding lofty, that my sealf and the *Bonaventer* had labor enough to beat it up. Butt the night following, the Thursday, Freday, and Seterday, the storme so increased, the shipps being waighty, the ordenance great, and the billoes so raysed and inraged, as wee could carry out no saile which to our judgment would not have bynn rent of[1] the yeards by the winde; and yet our shipps roled so vehemently, and so disjoynted themsealvs, as wee weare driven ether to force it agayne with our corses, or to sinke. In my shipp it hath shaken all her beams, knees, and stanchens well ny asunder; in so mich as on Saterday night last we made accompt to have yielded our sealvs up to God. For wee had no way to worke, ether by triinge, hollinge, or drivinge, that promised better hope; our men beinge wasted with labor and watchings, and our shipp so open every wher, all her bulk-head rent, and her verye cook-rome of brike shaken down into powder.

The Saterday morning I spake with your Lordships' survant Captain WATSON, who came from the North Cape, mysealf beinge, as hee told mee, the windermost man of our fleet; so as it seemed that my Lord Generall

[1] *off.*

LETTER LXXII.

1597. July 18.

was ether more to the westward or more asterne; for Captain WATSONNE had not then mett with any butt my sealf. The same day also I spake with another small man-of war that came directly from the Cape, and hee had not seen any but my sealf. I therefore, fynding the extremety of the weather such, and perceving that my Lorde Generall was asterne mee, bare up with a litle peece of my forsaile to seeke hyme, butt could not cross any one that could geve mee knowledge of hyme; only I know in reason he cannot butt be forced ether with Ingland or Irland; and my greatest feare notwithstanding is that hee willbe hyme sealf in sume extremetye, before hee yeilde to putt backe, although it can be butt too dayes sayling lost, and I know that the flibotes which transport the army ar skattered into divers places. Sume of them I found here att Plymouthe, with great sickness amonge their cumpanyes, and the flibots brused, the sailes rent, and ther other furneture wasted.

That which most greaveth mee, and which, I protest before the majesty of God, I do constantly beleve, is that ether my Lorde Generall hyme sealf will wrestell with the seas to his perrill, or (constrayned to cum bake) be found utterly hartbroken; although it be not in the powre of man to fight agaynst ellements.

I here that ther ar between thirtye and fourtye saile putt to Falmouth, to which place I have sent overland to know of what sort; but my Lorde hyme sealf is not among them.

I know not what cource to take here with thos which importune me to supply them, sume with masts, sume with sayles, sume having wett all their bredd, and others that have a great many sicke soldiers which will shortly infect all the rest. I understand that the fleet is stronge in Farroll.

LETTER LXXII. 1597. July 18.

What shalbe cume of us I cannot judge; when wee shall cume together; or how wee shall repaire the wracke of this storme; the tyme of the yeare being so advanced. You, my good Lordes, can judge how wee shalbe abell to beat it up with thes waighty shipps. I dare not advize. It weare to great a presumpsion; the persons and natures of the affaires being as the[1] are.

God send it a blessed end. I beseich your Honors to direct mee with all speed, and herewithall I humblie take my leve. From Plymouthe this Mundaye yevening, the 18 of July [1597].

Your Honors to serve you,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Here ar none of her Majesties shipes butt the *Wastspight* and the *Bonaventer*. The Lorde send us good newse of the *Mathew* and *Andrew*. I hope to here of them, ether in Falmouth or in Torre Baye. The wind doth remayne forcibell att the writing hereof, and like rather to increas then slaken.

## LXXIII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. (Unarranged Papers.) Without date of year. (**Rolls House.**)

LETTER LXXIII. 1597. July 20. To Sir R. Cecil. From Plymouth.

SIR,

THIS Wensday morninge my Lorde Generall is expected here att Plymouth, beinge on Twesdaye night putt into Falmouth in great extremetye and imminent perrill of sinking in the sea, which I knew would betyde hyme err hee would yeild to ether seas or winds. The

[1] *ther.*

LETTER LXXIII.

1597. July 20.

Disasters at the outset of the Island Voyage.—Report on the condition of Ferrol.

*Mathew* and *Andrew* and the *Mary Rose* (wherein the Marshall is) ar also arived; the *Dreadnought* is in Falmouth with the *Mere Honor*. The Admirall of Hollande, with some three or four of his squadron, ar also cum in. Most of thes shipps have crakt theire masts and ar mervelus leake, especially my Lorde Generalls own shipp. I thinke by this Wensday night all the rest wilbe on the coast. The most of the longe botes ar lost, and all the barges. I have here withall sent your Honor a very trew report of the state of the army at Farrolt. What your Honors will resolve I cannot forthinke; in the meane tyme, Sir, I beseich yow to worke from her Majestye summe comfort to my Lorde Generall, who, I know, is dismayed by these mischances, even to death; although ther could not be more dun by any man uppon the yearth, God havinge turned the heavens with that fury agaynst us, a matter beyound the powre, or valure, or will, of man, to resiste, and such accidents as the warr draweth with itsealf. This much I thought my sealf bound to lett your Honor understand of, being among thes miseres herein cumforted that my Lord Generall hyme sealf hath escaped such a perrill, and thos other too shippes the *Mathew* and *Andrew* saved, which I most vehemently feared. Plymouthe, this 20 July [1597].

Your Honor's, to your service,

W. RALEGH.

The shipps alreddy arrived ar—The *Mere Honor*, the *Wastspighte*, the *Bonaventure*, the *St. Mathewe*, the *St. Andrew*, the *Mary Rose*, the *Dreadnought*, the Admirall of Holland; with sume 25 saile of other sortes.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* R. CECYL, *Knight, Principall Secretory of State to her Highnes.*

## LXXIV.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. (Unarranged Papers. 1597; formerly numbered '189.') Holograph. Without date of year. **(Rolls House.)**

LETTER LXXIV.

1597. July 26.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Plymouth.

Proceedings of the Fleet.

SIR,

I HUMBLIE thanke you for your letters. I can add nothinge of substance to the generall letter. I only send thes to remember my love and service.

My Lord Generall[1] is my guest in the *Wast-spight*, [with][2] the Earle of RUTTLAND, Sir THOMAS GERMYNE, ALLEXANDER RATKLIFE, and Sir R. MANSFELDE. I should have taken it unkyndly if my Lorde had taken up any other lodging till the *Lion* cum. And now her Majestye may be sure his Lordship shall sleape somewhat the sounder, though hee fare the worse, by being with mee; for I ame an excelent watchman att sea.

Wee only attend the winde; having repayred as mich as wee can our bruses. Butt wee shall not bee in any great corage for winter weather and longe nights, in thes shipps.

I trust wee shall performe whatsoever—and more—can be don with like strenght and means. Sir, I pray love us in your element, and wee will love and honor you in ours and every wher. And remayne to be cummanded by you for evermore, W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Sir, I pray vouchsaufe to remember mee in all affection to my Lorde COBHAME.

Plymouth, the 26 of July [1597].

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritory to her Highnes.*

Endorsed:

26 *July*, 1597. *Sir. Walter Raleighe to my Master. From Plymouthe.*

[1] The Earl of Essex. [2] Omitted in MS.

## LXXV.

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lv. § 21 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date of year.

SIR,

LETTER LXXV.

1597. Sept. 8.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Terceira.

Proceedings of the Fleet in the 'Island Voyage.'—Account of the great storms met with in the Bay of Biscay.

I THOUGHT my sealf bound by this bearer to lett your Honor know the fortuns wee have passed since our departinge Inglande, which was the 18 of August. Att which tyme, havinge the winde very bare att north-west, and afterward more westerly, wee weare forst into the Baye of Biskey, and had great payns in torninge out. In which forsibell weather the *St. Andrew*[1] spent her mayntopmaste; and, as I hard by a barke of the Fleet that the *Mattheew* had spent her maynmast and was left in the Bay, I hope yow have hard of her, or else God cumfort them.

About the 26, wee recovered the Cape Prior with a very prest sayle, and uppon the very dublinge I also lost my mainyearde,—broken into yeven peeces in the midle, which I was forst to lay on[2] over the other, and so make it shorter; and have past with it to the hight of the Rocke.[3] My Lord Generall, after he had cum unto mee and seen my mishape, stood in with the North Cape, and [in] the yeveninge sent unto mee to stand in also. Butt as I was forst to drive before the winde, and not able to ly by a winde, without a maynesayle, the sea beinge also miche growne, I passed on toward the

[1] One of the prizes which Ralegh had taken in the harbour of Cadiz.
[2] *one.*
[3] The 'Rock' of Lisbon.

LETTER LXXV.

1597. Sept. 8.

Rocke,—being the secound rendezvous agreed on, and sent word to my Lorde that I would attend hyme ther.

Ther stayed with mee of her Majesties shipps the *Dreadnought* only, who never leaft mee in that first and a greater mischance; for, tarriing att the Rocke 3 dayes for my Lorde Generall, I receved letters from hyme by a pinnes to follow hyme att the Ilands; in which course my maynemast also fayled. I had with me my cussen Sir WILLIAM BROKE in the *Dreadnought*, 20 voluntary barks of the west countrey that came out with mee, and 3 flibotes of soldiers of the Low Countres, BRETT, CONWAY, and SYDNEY. SYDNE'S flibote foundred. Butt I saved hyme and all the soldiers. I had also that mett mee sume 3 of the vitlers of London, —the *Georg*, the *Gamaliell*, and the *Gift*. I have notwithstanding followed my Lord's order to cum to the Ilands, and I am now, this 8 of September, in sight of Tercera, having chosen rather to perishe than to relinquishe the enterprize; and, the Lord douth know, in a torne shipp. Butt her Majestye shall fynd that I valew not my life; although I hope that her Majestye would not that I should perishe in vayne.

I hope after too dayes to fynd my Lorde Generall and the fleet, with whom, I thinke, all the rest of her Majesties shipps ar, butt the *Mathew* with poore GEORG CAREW.[1] It is a carfull and perelus tyme of the yeare

1 Sir George Carew, in the *St. Matthew*,—one of the prizes taken by Ralegh at Cadiz,—had been constrained by stress of weather to put into Rochelle. On the 10th of September—two days after Ralegh's letter from Terceira—he wrote to the Secretary that he had in vain endeavoured to follow the fleet, overland; and that "the shyppe withe much perill hathe bene safelye brought home, and is now att an anker att St. Hellen's Poynt by Portsmouthe." He entreats also that if the Queen have any despatches for Essex he may be made the messenger, in one of the ships then lying in the Downs; adding that he would have attended the Secretary in person, but for considerations connected with the stores of the *St. Matthew*,—as

LETTER LXXV. 1597. Sept. 8.

for thes wayghty shipps. The Lorde of Heaven send us all well to returne, and send us the good hape to do her Majestie acceptable service; to performe which wee have alreddy suffered miche. For my particuler, I have never dared to rest since my wreacks, and God douth judge that I never for thes 10 dayes came so mich as in to bedd or cabbin.

In hast, I kiss your hands, and will honor yow ever. Tercera, the 8 of September [1597].

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLLE, *Knight, Principall Secritory to her Majestye.* Hast, &c.

*For Her Majesties especiall affaires.* Delivered at Tercera, the 8 of September. W. RALEGH.

Endorsed, by Sir R. Cecil: "9 *of September* [1597]. *Sir W. Ralegh to me, from the Tercera.*" [It also bears an endorsement of the Postmaster of Crewkerne, dated 7 October.]

## LXXVI.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. § 17 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

SIR,

LETTER LXXVI. 1597. Oct. 13.

THIS bearer will go presently into Spayne and vew all the portes, by whome you shall be ascertained of all

"sayler's fingers be limetwigs." (*Cecil Papers*, vol. lv. § 28.) In a subsequent letter he tells Cecil that the size and equipment of the *St. Matthew* excited such astonishment at Rochelle, that during the course of his brief stay in that harbour the ship was visited by more than four thousand persons. (Ibid. § 32.) The junction of Ralegh's squadron with the main fleet under Essex took place exactly one week after the date of the letter written from off Terceira.

LETTER LXXVI. — 1597. Oct. 13.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Durham House.

Proposition for the sending of a secret emissary to examine the Ports of Spain.

the King's preparations; what is becume of this late fleet that was att the Ilands; wher[1] thos, with the rest, be held in reddines or discharged. I will undertake for the honesty of the man. He hath the King's pass wherby he may saufly look into the ports. Hee only desirs, for the countenance of the matter, a small bulk of wheat or rye. Yow cannot devise a fitter waye to discover all his pretence.

Therfore I pray cummend it, and dispatch it with haste. From Derum House, this xiii of October [1597].

Your asured frinde to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—If I had bynn well, I would have waited on yow my sealf.

Addressed:

*To my honorable friend, Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight.*

Endorsed, by Sir R. Cecil:

*Syr Walter Ralegh to me.* 13 *October*, 1597.

## LXXVII.

## SIR WALTER RALEGH, THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD, AND THE LORD MONTJOY, TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

From the Original. Wholly in the hand of Sir WALTER RALEGH (signatures, of course, excepted). *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. § 61 (**Hatfield**). Without date of year.

LETTER LXXVII. — 1597. Oct. 29.

OUR VERY GOOD LORDE,

WEE have this Saterday night receved the cumfortabell newse of GEORGE SUMMER'S arivall, whos letter wee have here withall sent your Lordshipp. Wee do

[1] So in MS. for '*whether*.'

LETTER LXXVII.

1597. Oct. 29.

Sir W. Ralegh and others to the Earl of Essex. From Plymouth.

Proceedings of the Fleet; and news of the Spaniards.

only now want the *Andrew*. For other small shipps, we hope they will as well profitt by the winde or otherwize to save them sealvs, as the rest have dunn. Thes beinge all well returned; her Majesties kyngdoms defended; the enemy dishonored and made a great looser; and the warr made upon our enimis charge; wee hope,—together with the considerations of our great travells and cares,—her Majestye will receve our service in gratius part.

Wee have not hard of any certayne particular of the Spanishe Fleet since your Lordshipp's departure, other then that sume of ours, in retorning, do discover 10, 12, or more, in a cumpany, of them, as they ar broken. Only I, Sir WALTER RALEGH, receved an advertisment this yevening that the Fleet should be 'nire the coast of Cornwale,' and by thos very words, not otherwize fortefied by any particuler, nor by what means they who wrat this newse receved it.

Notwithstanding, wee have resolved that I, the Viceadmirall,[1] will go of[2] to the seas with thos few shipps which may be made reddy; and that I, the Levetenant Generall,[3] will attend this port and the country adjoyning; and I, the Levetenant of Cornwale, use all means possebell to defend that country.

Herewithall wee humblie cummend our affections and services to your Lordshipps,[4] and rest reddy to be cumanded by your Lordshipp,

T. HOWARD.
C. MOUNTJOYE.
W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Captayne RUGWAY, in cumminge by the Lizarde, was mett by on[5] of the Spanishe

[1] Lord Thomas Howard.
[2] *off*.
[3] Charles Lord Montjoy, Lieutenant-General of the land forces.
[4] So in MS.—in the plural.
[5] *one*.

LETTER LXXVII. 1597. Oct. 29.

Fleet nire Falmouth, too of his men kilde, and eyght hurt.

Plymouth, the xxix of October [1597].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable our singuler good Lorde, the Earle of* ESSEX, *Lorde Generall of her Majestis Force and Fleet.* Delivered att Plymouth att 12 a clock att night the xxix of October. Hast, post, hast; hast for life with speed possibell. For her Majesties most important affaires, from the Levetenant of Cornwall, W. RALEGH.

Endorsed:

1597. 29 *Oct. Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Mountjoy, Sir Walter Raleigh, to my Lord of Essex.* Captaine Sommers arryved. Captaine King mett nere Falmouthe, and fought withall by some of the Spanishe fleet.

## LXXVIII.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER LXXVIII. 1597. Oct. 30. To Sir R. Cecil. From Plymouth. News of the Spanish Fleet.

SIR,

WEE have written a joynt letter to my Lord Generall, of an advertisment brought by on[1] BOWDEN of Plymouth, who fought with on[1] of the flibots of warr of the Spanishe fleet in 42 degrees, and 30 leaugs of[2] the Cape. The particularites I send yow here inclosed, though not in that forme as in the Lorde Generall's letter: for this being the first examination wee did afterward marshall it. Other newses ther ar none, butt that this day ther came another small barke in, of SPARK'S of Plymouth, that also mett GEORG CAREW,

[1] *one.*

LETTER LXXVIII.

1597. Oct. 30.

and sayth hee had repaired his maynmast ; so as I hope he may better shift bothe with the weather and the enemy. Leving all idle protestations, I am your servant,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I humblie beseich yow to excuse mee to my Lord Admirall, and that this coppy may serve his Lordshipp also, and to my cussen STANHOPE and to my Lorde COBHAME. For we ar here made madd with intricate affaires and want of means. Plymoth, the 30 of October, att night.

This captayne reported unto us of his own voluntary that the Earle our generall hath as mich fame and reputation in Spayne and Italy as ever, and more then, any of our nation had ; and that for an enemy he is the most honored man in Europe. My Lord THOMAS HOWARD was present, my Lord MONTJOYE, my Lord Marshall and my sealf ; and hence[1] . . he shall not take it for flattery on my part. My Lord MONJOY prayeth me to recumend his affection and service unto your Honor.

Addressed :

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritory to her Majesty.*

Endorsed :

1597. 30 *Oct. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.*

[1] Here a word seems to have been obliterated.

## LXXIX.

### SIR W. RALEGH AND LORD THOMAS HOWARD TO THE EARL OF ESSEX.

From the original Draft. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. § 81 (Hatfield). Wholly in Sir W. RALEGH'S hand. Imperfect; the commencement being wanting. Without address, signature, or date.

[See the Letter to Sir ROBERT CECIL which follows.]

LETTER LXXIX.

1597. October.

Sir W. Ralegh and Lord T. Howard to the Earl of Essex.

. . . . . .

. . . . the Fleet was devided into 4 squadrons: the first,—that of the Adelantado, who had green pendants; the second,—of DIEGO BROCHERON, who had yellow pendants; the thirde,—of BRITENDONA, who had redd; and the 4th,—of CEBURES, who had white. Ther was a 5th squadron, of MARCO ARAMBULL, who was to cume with 30 sayle more, and 5,000 men for supply.

Intelligence of the Spanish Fleet.

The masters of the Camp were Don JOHN DE LOVA,[1] Don FARNANDO BROCHERON Y OROSA, who was expected out of Britayne.[2]

Sume of thes Spanierds examined say ther came out together but 110. Butt the alferes of the Spanish captayne avoweth that they weare 160. They say that they departed the Gwyne[3] St. Lucas daye, as they thinck the 10 of October. They do farther confess—severally examined—that this fleet came all within 20 leaugs of the Lisard joyntly and entire; and ther met the storme at east, which severed them. After which, this shipp, taken by BOWDEN, never saw but on[4] of his consortts, which was sene 20 leags from the coast of Spayne.

[1] Here the word '*and*' seems to have been omitted.
[2] Brittany. [3] Corunna. [4] *one*.

LETTER LXXIX. 1597. October.

The Spanish captain is called JOHN VIVERES, a Biscaien. He levied the cumpany hyme sealf in his countrey, and hee avoweth that ther weare 40 gallions of the King, of which he knew the names butt of thes:—the *St. Pole,* in which the Adelantado went; the *St. Peter,* admiraute; the *St. Lucas,*—was cast away cuming out of Farroll; the *St. Francis;* and the *St. John.* 15 great Biscaien shipps; 60 great Esterlings; 10 or 12 flibotes, besids freich[1] and carvells.

Ther was also expected 17 sayle of shipps out of the Streyts, which fleet another bark of Plymoth of SPARK'S —which arived also this present—saw att the South Cape. Hee sayth that ther weare of infantry, betwen 10 and 12,000; of horss, 500. And 5,000 foot were expected with MARCO ARAMBULL, a Biscayne.

They all confess that they came six dayes on with good wind, and then taken with the storme. The[2] brought also feld artilery, with store of moyles[3] and oxen. The generall of the artillery was Don PEDRO DE GUAVARA. Being axed what Inglishe weare in the fleet, they say, divers; butt they knew name of none butt RICHARD BURLEY. Of. Irishe ther was on[4] cumpany entire.

Being asked what provision of boates to lande[5] soldiers, they say 20, made of purpose capabell of 200 men apeece, beseds thos of the shipps. Being demanded what vitell, they answere that the fleet had butt 6 weeks, for it was determined that, as soon as the men weare ashore, the fleet should returne.

They do avow all [to]gather that the place of discent should be Falmouth. This Inglishman, BOWDEN, passing by the Lisard the 28 of this moneth of October, saw

[1] So in MS. [2] *They.* [3] *mules.* [4] *one.*
[5] This word is doubtful, being nearly illegible.

LETTER LXXIX. 1597. October.

12 sayle nire the head-land, but could not make them; and the Spanish prisoners say they thinke these [1] not be of their fleet, because they had no pendants; which wee thinke themsealvs tooke in because they weare so few.

This BOWDEN also reporteth that he saw to [2] very great shipps of [3] Silley as hee came; and, as we gather bothe by the circumstances and by the confestion of the prisoners that this poore man fought verie resolutely, and, having butt 28 men and boyes, tooke this flibote by an entry [4]—who had 40 soldiers besids saylers—and yet slew not one butt att the entrance.[5] Of whos good service, and the better to incorage others, wee humblie pray your Lordship to have consideration.

Endorsed:

1597. *Oct. Advises concerning the Spanish fleet; sent by Sir Walter Raleigh.*

## LXXX.

### THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD, THE LORD MONTJOY, SIR WALTER RALEGH, AND SIR FRANCIS VERE, TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lvi. § 110 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis. Signed.

LETTER LXXX. 1597. Nov. 6.

MAY YT PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIPS,

WE thinck yt oure duties to advertise your Lordships that we have now receaved knowledg from Sir FRAUNCIS GODOLPHIN [6] of a Spanish barck putt into

[1] So in MS. Perhaps '*could*' omitted. [2] *two.* [3] *off.*
[4] *I. e.* in boarding her. [5] So in MS., the sentence being left unfinished.
[6] In letters addressed by Godolphin to Sir Walter Ralegh on the 2nd Nov. One of these letters is in the same volume of *Cecil Papers*, No. 98,

LETTER LXXX.

1597. Nov. 6.

Sir W. Ralegh and others to the Lords of the Council.

Proceedings of the Fleet.—News of the Spaniards.

St. Ives in Cornwaile whose captayn, called JUAN TRIEGO, was taken in her, and his alferes,[1]—about whom were found the captayn's commission, signed by the Adelantado, a ticket for their rendezvous in Falmouthe, and another patent for reward of the sayed JUAN TRIEGO, for taking sondrie fishermen uppon this coast; of which we send herin unto your Lordships the originals: leaving unto your grave judgments such farther collections as may be made upon them. And this we have thought the more necessarie to be presented unto your knowledges, because the sayed Captayn, JUAN TRIEGO, hath been imployed this 2 or 3 yeare uppon this coast in taking of smale barcks, of which he hath taken many.

We also send herewith unto your Lordships a printed copie of the orders to be observed in the Spanish armie and fleete. Now, because out of these and other intelligences yt hath appeared unto us, and may appear unto your Lordships, under the Adelantadoe's hand, that Falmouth was the place which they porposed first to take hold of, we have thought good to send 200 of the 700 which are heere of the old souldiers unto Falmouthe. Because yt shalbe no other charge unto her Majestie then now yt is; and that place being of so great importance, and so ill defensed, we have presumed to hasten them thether.

We are, before we conclude, to advertise your Lordships that the fliboates of the Low Cuntries which should transport the souldiers are departed without owre consente.

and is thus endorsed in Ralegh's hand: "A letter of Sir Francis Godolphin, declaring the weakness of Pendennis Castle and the importance of the place;" but this letter begins with intelligence about the Spanish ship.

[1] 'Standard-bearer,' acting as lieutenant.

LETTER LXXX. 1597. Nov. 6.

And so, recommending owre selvs humbly to your good Lordships' favors, we rest, readdy to doe your Lordships all humble service,

T. HOWARD.
C. MOUNTJOYE.
W. RALEGH.
F. VERE.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—We humbly desire to have order from your Lordships concerning the Spanish prisoners heere, which stand the Queene in 14 pound aweeke, after 6d. a man. From Plemouth, this 6 of November, 1597.

Addressed:
*To the right honorable owre verie good Lords, the Lords and others of her Majesties Privy Counsayle.*

Endorsed, by Sir R. Cecil:
6 *November*, 1597. *The Lord Thomas and the Lord Montjoy and others to the Lords; with the Report of a captaine of the Spanish shypp taken in St. Ives.*

## LXXXI.

## THE LORD THOMAS HOWARD, THE LORD MONTJOY, AND SIR WALTER RALEGH, TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, 1597 (formerly numbered '272'). (**Rolls House.**) In the hand of an amanuensis. Signed.

LETTER LXXXI. 1597. Nov. 9.

OUR duties most humbly remembred. We receaved two letters from your Lordships: the one of the 3d, the other of the 5 of November. By the 5th wee perceave that your Lordships have sent downe Mr. CARMARDEN

LETTER LXXXI.

1597. Nov. 9.

Joint letter of Lord T. Howard, Lord Montjoy, and Sir W. Ralegh, to the Council. From Plymouth.

Conclusion of Island Voyage, and arrangements about Prizes.

to take order for the unlading of the prize; commaunding us to direct two or three of the shipps of London to transport yt, and some of her Majesties to guarde it about.

May yt please your Lordships to knowe that there are heere now, of the shipps of London, left but the *Guiana* only, which is of good defense; a verie excellent sayler; and draweth little water. We doe therefore porpose to putt a part into her, and the rest into the *Rainbowe;* which shipp is also of easy drawght, and may passe by the Thames as conveniently as any of the marchants. And because we would be glad to have the goods of the great prize at Dertmouth delivered unto the Commissioners well conditioned,—least yt may be sayed that spoyle hath been made while it hath been in the custodie of such as my Lord General committed the charge unto, we have desired Sir GELLI MERICK to be present at the deleverie and waying of the same, as we have donn for the rest unladen heere; and afterward we will leave yt to the charge of the sayed Commissioners. And because Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH hath appoynted a meeting at Falmouth in Cornewaile to take a second vew of that place and how yt may be defended, we have left the care unto him at his return to ride by Dertmouth, as well to see the *Guiana* and the *Rainbowe* provided of all things necessarie, as to conferr with the Commissioners how the goods shalbe bestowed in the shipps, and that bulke-heads be made to devide yt from the victuall and repayre of the Compagnie. Now, for her Majesties shipps, my Lord THOMAS HAWARD doth determin with the first wynde to sett sayle, and by God's favor to make all possible speede to conduct them to Chattam.

We have also this day receaved the Examination of

LETTER LXXXI.
1597. Nov. 9.

one PEREZ, Captayn of the smale barck putt in at St. Ives, which agreeth with the rest in generality; but he addeth that there are 35 gallies appoynted also to be joyned to this fleete; and delivereth this particularity of the horse: That there were, for certeyn, 500;—whereof 50 died; of oxen, 200; of carrs for draught, 200; of mules, 50.

JUAN TRIGO hath, since owre last, confessed that there were in this fleete 30 captayns of the Low Cuntries; that the Adelantado was appoynted to tarry, and DIEGO BROCHERO to returne with the fleete; and that the next yeare they ment to sett up there rest for this kingdome; hoping, in the meane while, to hold any peece of grownd in England, where soever they should take foote.

And so, humbly recommending our selvs to your good Lordships' favors, we rest readdy to doe your Lordships all humble service,

T. HOWARD.
C. MOUNTJOYE.
W. RALEGH.

From Plimouth, this 9th of November, 1597.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable owre verie good Lords, the Lords and others of her Majesties most honorable Privy Counsayle.*

Endorsed:

1597. *Vice-Admiralls Lord Thomas Howard, Lord Mountjoye, Sir Walter Raleighe, to the Lords.*

## LXXXII.

## TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL?

From the Original. Wholly in the hand of Sir WALTER RALEGH. MS. Cotton, OTHO E ix. fol. 377, formerly numbered '346' (British Museum). Mutilated, having been partially burned in the fire at Ashburnham House. Without date.

LETTER LXXXII. 1597. To the Lords of the Council? Proposed Enterprises against Spain.

. . . . . .

. . . . How this fleet and army of Her Majestye . . . . beinge now with the latest to lande at the Ilands . . . . . many dangers and dificultes in the enterprize of Farroll. . . . .[1] this course, if it shall like Her Majestye and your Lordships.

. . . . . [There have[2]] past to the Indies this yeare, in March, Aprill, and Maye, fourscore [ships, with purpose[2]] to returne treasor and marchandize. [In[2]] the last yeare, 1596, by reason of the sackinge of Calize and burninge [of the[2]] fleete, ther was made no returne, so as this yeare the treasor which should [have[2]] cum with the last, and whatsoever is gathered since, is to be transported now. Because ther is no suspition of any attempt to be made in the Indies [this year; and also[2]] that the Spanishe kinge would be in effect utterly broken if this duble returne weare surprised, wee do thincke it a matter very feasibell with the on[e] half of Her Majestye's fleet now att Plymouth, and with a third part of the army, to performe the same.

Out of the 16 sayle of shipps of Her Maiesties to take eyght, and with the vitell of the others to furnishe

[1] [? We do therefore recommend].

[2] The words within brackets are supplied, either from traces remaining on the burnt MS., or from the plain necessity of the context.

LETTER LXXXII. 1597.

the rest for one moneath or six weeks,[1] to that which now remayneth in . . . The vitell provided here for the supply, will make two moneaths vitell more; and with the remaynder of that which shalbe saved out of the flibotes wee shalbe able to [furnish[2]] the Fleet by us desired for six moneaths. In which tyme, or less, wee shalbe abell by [your Lordships'[2]] favor to go and returne; and sufficient pourfull to master and possess all the King's shipps in the Indies.

The occasion never served so fitly, for hee is no way warned. For whensoever this enterprize shalbe undertaken of purpose, and that ther be any suspect therof, the Spanishe kinge will use so many preventions as the labor and charge on our syde will evermore be loste and made frustrate.

The Spanishe Fleet now att Farroll is not in any estate to cum out, and by that tyme in which wee shalbe reddy to depart it wilbe no tyme of the yeare to make invasions or incursions by sea.

Wee shal only be wantinge in the dead of Winter, and be abell to returne in the Spring, sufficient tymely to aunswere any attempt from Spayne.

In keepinge the seas upon the first pretence of Farroll and the Ilands wee shall spend three moneaths, wherein wee shalbe shaken and weather-beaten, with small hope of profitt. And to possess all his Indian Fleet will require but two moneaths more, and the navigation of less perrill. And the strenght which wee desire to carry shalbe butt too shipps more then that which[3] was alloted to Sir FRANCIS DRAKE and Sir JOHN HAWKINGS.

[1] Here the word "added" seems to have been omitted in the haste of writing. [2] See note 2 on page 191.

[3] In the writer's evident haste this word is, in the MS., repeated.

LETTER LXXXII. 1597.

Her Majesties charge is alreddy past, which wee all desire to convert to Her Maiesties greater profitt. To which purpose wee fynde this enterprize to offer it sealf, which wee assure our sealves will returne the greatest profitt to Her Maiestye, and the greatest losse to the enemye, then ever any attempt did in Her Maiestye's tyme. . . . . .

[*The rest is wanting.*]

## LXXXIII.

### TO SIR JOHN GILBERT, THE YOUNGER.

From a Transcript[1] made for Dr. THOMAS BIRCH, from the original (but mutilated) letter, then in the possession of Major POMEROY GILBERT, Fort-Major of Plymouth. MS. Addit. 4231, ff. 85, 86 (**British Museum**). Without date.

. . . . . .

[*The top of the letter and the corresponding part of the sheet, towards the end, had disappeared, when the transcript was made.*]

LETTER LXXXIII. 1597?

To Sir John Gilbert, the younger.

Participation in the profits of a privateering adventure.—Personal affairs.

. . . . met. I had reason . . . . discovered your not trusting . . . . towards me, both in the . . . . witness then hyme sealf, when . . . . importuned and vexed in your causes. And you . . . . care of you. It is enough that he knows that I scorn otherwise to plead it now. But I knew the contents of your letter by arguments used by him. Comparing those with myne own letter, I also found that somewhat was written that I might not see; because he refused to shew me your's.

[1] I have taken no small pains—without much success—to learn whether or not the original of this letter is still in existence. Sir John Gilbert, to whom it was addressed, is now represented by the present Walter Raleigh Gilbert, Esq. of The Priory, near Bodmin, who has informed me that the letter is not in his possession.

LETTER LXXXIII.

1597?

For this adventure itsealf, there was never any other thinge demanded by mee then a third of the Lord Admirall's forth-part. Be the sums more or lesse, all was and ys only that third of a forth. Either I will have it, or you shall have it. And when you were concluded before with a forth part, what was it to you how the rest had byne devided; unless, as it seemed, it was amiss that I had it. For your fear of my threatenings, it was not doubted that you heard them; neather did I threaten anythinge but the recovery of that part, which I will still have, withoute your healpe. And it is trew I labored foolishly to put by your cussen COLE, and others, of whom I could have had as good a part as most of the best adventurers, if I had not respected your profit more then I finde canbe in your ungratefull nature to deserve. Now to the rest.—

Wher you say you followed the worst of my fortunes in despight of envy, I pray forget not your sealf; nor do not so much mistake my fortunes, but that when they were at worst they were better then the best of your owne, and were abell enough to steed my frends, and despise the rest.[1] And for envy, it were a strang consaite to think that a nephew should be envied for going to the warrs with his unkell; you being then of no abilletie; your unkell livinge.

For your command under Sir JOHN NORRICE, it is not unknown to me what it was; or, if it might have been more, in whose respect it had byn. For Sir JOHN NORRICE him selfe ever needed me; I never needed hyme, nor his healpe. And the private jurney to Guiana had as much honor as the publick jurney of Britayne,[2] and you was as private in Britayne as in

[1] This word is doubtful.

[2] *I.e.* the expedition to Brittany, under Norreys.

LETTER LXXXIII.

1597?

Guiana. I advise you to be just, as well in Britayne as wheresoever . . . . . .

[*See the remark at the beginning of this letter.*]

And such . . . . . .
was no shame . . . . . .
the other for spending you . . . . . .
is a riddle to me, for . . . . . .
had no fortune to spend at Cadiz.

Of the reputation that you have, forget not that you had it cheifly with your tittle [1] in those; and from what beginnings hath growne the rest whatsoever. After you had of your owne, yow went for your sealfe; and, if I did not adventure to your liking, yow must know that ther was more land then to discend unto yow, then [2] to any of myne. And my estate being outwent so farr in debt, I could not neglect a sonne and a wife. Your fortunes had partye and tyme to make them. Myne had neather; and yet be not so forgetfull, or say that I adventured nothing. For if I had £200 of Lorde COBHAM, I adventured £400 worth of ordenance which I could have sold for so mich more; which ordenaunce have been fortunate enough unto yow ever since, though contrary to me, by reason that no man durst buy the sugars [3] without warrantize. I left them with SANDERSON, who cussened me of the money. And therfore your passion therin is greater then your allegation.

And because yow repeat these thinges, I pray forget not that first I saved your parsonage [3] from CARI, [4] in your brother's tyme, and next from THYNN, in your tyme. And butt in respect of mee I know how your Aunt [5]

[1] Used here obviously in the sense of "interest;" *i.e.* "your interest,—or family ties,—in those already named." [2] *than.* [3] So in MS.

[4] So in MS. Probably the reading should be "Caru," *i.e.* Ralegh's half-brother, Carew Ralegh, afterwards knighted.

[5] Probably, Lady Gilbert, widow of Sir Humphrey?

LETTER LXXXIII.

1597?

had dealt with yow well enough. Again, by your pardon, do not beleve that, how ill soever my fortune was, butt for me and by the healp of my frends, you were discharged in dispight of a stronge opposition. Yow may remember with all the sett[1] wher yow ar,—that it was not alone for your sealf that you had it, and that I have yet so many enemis for it, bothe in court and countrey. And,—howsoever you may aunswer,—the world knowes well enough what I have dun, and will judge you accordingly, both for your father, your unkell, and your sealf; which I ment not to have repeted, but to answere the 'good nature' of your owne.

[*See former note.*]

. . . . . self as . . .
. . . . . him as you ar
. . . . . in whatsoever valuation
. . . . . Mr. Secritory,[2] that he is
. . . . . that you have lost me by shewing
. . . . . person desire hyme. Notwithstandinge, I remayne your good frend. You shall not mesure mee by your own 'good nature;' for I do not labor any man agaynst yow. I may rather bee ashamed to have any man know your ingratitude. I will not defile the neast, nor yet seke[3] to feed thos that cannot fly so well without mee. Hurt not your sealf. I shall leve you to your owne courses; and holde this of your's no stranger then the usages of others. It beinge more natural to all men rather to pay wronges then good turnes.

And, for the conclusion: of that you say I dare not offer this dealing but [to] your sealf, I answere that I dare do as much as your sealf, and have dared; and will ever be found so. And for your fortunes otherwise, fear

[1] *seat.*
[2] Sir Robert Cecil.
[3] So in MS. The reading should probably be '*leve.*'

not that I will labor to lessen them; as I will not hereafter look after them. And when myne shalbe at worst, yet they shall never neede your healpe, whatsoever yours have dun myne. Your Unkell,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER LXXXIII. 1597?

Addressed:
*To my nephew, Sir John Gilbert, Knight.*

## 1598.

## LXXXIV.

### TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xlviii. § 101 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER LXXXIV. 1597-1598. Jan. 16. To Lord Burghley. From Durham House. Appointment of Deputy-Lieutenants for Cornwall.

MY VERY GOOD LORDE,

WHERAS it hath bynn thought fitt that Sir NICHOLAS PARKER should be made a Deputy Levetenante in Cornwall, I do for my sealf excedingly well allow of the gentelman, and do farther humblie pray your Lordshipp that Mr. BARNARDE GRENVILE may be also admitted, because in all the north parts of Cornwale ther ar none of the deputes that have any dwellinge. The gentelman is very sufficient, and the rest shall receve great ease therby; and her Majesties service the better performed.

Thus, with remembrance of my humbell dewty, I rest to be cummanded by your Lordshipp as your sarvante,

W. RALEGH.

From Derum House, this 16 of January [1597–1598].

Addressed: "*To the right honorable my singuler goode Lorde, the Lorde Treasorer of Inglande.*"
Endorsed: "*Sir Walter Rayligh.* 1597."

## LXXXV.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. Formerly marked "Bundle 226, No. 144." (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date.

*** In a communication—otherwise interesting—read to the Society of Antiquaries, Mr. Payne Collier has suggested, from the tenor of this letter, that Ralegh was now again present in Ireland on the Queen's service. But the letter itself—in the absence of other evidence—affords no sufficient foundation for the hypothesis. There is, indeed, somewhat of a blank in Ralegh's recorded career at this period. But it has to be borne in mind that Ralegh, in 1598, could not have served in Ireland, or have visited Ireland, without attracting much attention; nor without leaving many unmistakeable traces of his presence there. He was still the owner of a vast, though at that time unproductive, estate in Munster.

LETTER LXXXV.

1598. October.

To Sir R. Cecil.

Concerning a plot for the 'killing of a rebel' in Ireland.

SIR,

IT can be no disgrace if it weare knowen that the killinge of a rebel wearc practised; for you see that the lives of anoynted Princes are daylye sought, and we have always in Ireland geven head money for the killinge of rebels, who ar evermore proclaymed at a price. So was the Earle of DESMONDE, and so have all rebels been practised agaynst. Notwithstandinge, I have written this enclosed to STAFFORD,[1] who only recommended that knave to me upon his credit. Butt, for

[1] Perhaps the Captain, or Colonel, Francis Stafford, whom we meet with as serving in Ireland, and corresponding with Sir Henry Wallop, as early as 1585. (*Irish Correspondence:* Elizabeth, vol. cxviii. § 54.)

your-sealf, you ar not to be touched in the matter. And for me, I am more sorrye for beinge deceaved than for beinge declared in the practise.

LETTER LXXXV.

1598. October.

Your Lordship's, ever to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—He hathe nothinge under my hand butt a passport.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECIL, *Knight, Principall Secretory to Her Maiestie.*

## LXXXVI.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xix. § 66 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER LXXXVI.

1598?

To Sir R. Cecil.

The Queen's appointment of a Captain to serve in Ireland.

SIR,

I BESEICH you to signefye Her Majesties pleasure to my Lord Deputye of Irland—because his Lordship is ready to depart—concerning this gentelman, on whom Her Majestye hathe bestowed POORE'S[1] companye.

Your Honor's to do you service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritory to her Majestye.*

Endorsed:

1590.[2] *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.*

[1] Probably Captain Anthony Power, who had served in Munster against the Geraldines contemporaneously with Ralegh himself.

[2] The endorsement reads as above; and in the MS. Catalogue of the Hatfield MSS. the letter is placed under "1590." The remark is sub-

## 1600.

## LXXXVII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxviii. § 103 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis. Subscribed and signed.

*** The work towards which, on this occasion, Ralegh acts as official Censor of the Press was a translation of the well-known book of Jerome dei Franchi Conestaggio which had been published at Genoa, fourteen years before, under the title:—*Dell' Unione del Regno di Portogallo alla Corona de Castiglia, Istoria.* It would have added not a little to the interest of the English translation here spoken of, had Ralegh so mentioned his "corrections" as that we could now identify them. The book was published in the same year with that of Ralegh's present letter, viz. 1600, and was "*printed for Edward Blount.*" Cecil's interest in the subject was by no means a literary interest. The "warrs of Africa" here treated of were those in which Sebastian of Portugal fell, drawing after him the temporary fall of his kingdom. They had therefore a close connection with English politics; and especially with that most troublesome of all sections of the politics of Queen

joined that this is "the *earliest* letter addressed to Robert Cecil" which that collection contains. But as Sir Robert became "Principal Secretary" only in July 1596, the endorsement must obviously be erroneous. Ralegh, too, made his first reappearance at Court at the end of May 1597. Possibly, the letter may belong to that year. It cannot belong to any *earlier* year than that. And it is much more probable that it was written in 1598. Its pittance of interest lies in the fact that, either in 1597 or in 1598, it presents to us Ralegh—after five years of Court disgrace—as communicating to the Secretary of State "Her Majesties pleasure" about a captaincy in Ireland,

Elizabeth's day, the intrigues of the English refugees abroad. They were also connected, in a very curious way, with some of the undercurrents of that Munster rebellion in the suppression of which Ralegh had won his spurs. The fanatic Stucley, who fell beside Don Sebastian at the bloody battle of Alcazarquivir (22 Sept. 1578), was just about to have led a force into Ireland, under the patronage of the Pope, which was to dethrone Queen Elizabeth and to provide Ireland with an Italian king. Sebastian induced him first to make a little episodical excursion against the Moors. And thus, instead of putting an Italian on the throne of Ireland, Sir Thomas Stucley helped to put Philip the Second on the throne of Portugal.

LETTER LXXXVII.

1599-1600. March 15.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Durham House.

Report on the revision of Franchi Conestaggio's *History of the Conquest of Portugal.*

SIR,

I HAVE perused this translated storie of the Conquest of Portugall and the Warrs of Africa, and have corrected some things therein. For the rest, I see nothing in the booke but what may well passe, if your Honnor please to give allowance thereof; which I humblie desire, in favor of the translator. And so do take my leave. From Dirrham House, the xvth of March, 1599 [*legal style*].

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Her Majesties Principall Secretary.*

Endorsed:

15 *March*, '99. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.*

## LXXXVIII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxviii. § 7 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER LXXXVIII.

1600. March 27.

To Sir R. Cecil. [From Sherborne.]

Account of the improved health of William Cecil, then a visitor at Sherborne.

SIR,

BECAUSE I know that yow cann receve no pleasinger newse from hence then to here of your beloved creture,[1] I thought good to lett you know of his good health; and whereas I wrat in my last that hee was a littell trobled with a looseness, I thanck God he is no[2] freed therof; and, I assure yow, better in health and strenght then ever I knew hyme. His stomake, that was heretofore weake, is altogether amended, and he douth now eat well and digest rightly. I hope this aire will agree exceedingly with hyme. He is also better keipt to his booke then any wher elce.

[1] William Cecil, eldest son of Sir Robert, and afterwards second Earl of Salisbury. To this nobleman Sir Walter long afterwards dedicated the first (and, as it proved, the only) portion of his intended *Brief History of England* ("I intend, by the help of God and your furtherance, right noble Earl of Salisbury, to write a *Brief History*," &c.)—words which Oldys, by an oversight not usual with him, has spoken of as addressed to Robert Cecil, first Earl. Earl William served King Charles the First as an Ambassador Extraordinary (to the Court of France), and, as is well known, sat—in company with the Earl of Pembroke—in the Long Parliament, during the Interregnum. But he was of a cautious temperament, and seems to have been nearly as fond of retirement as his famous father was of business. He survived, by almost eight years, the restoration of King Charles the Second; enjoying his earldom for the unusual period of fifty-six years. Men who lived far into the 'Georgian era' of our history may well have heard Lord Salisbury's reminiscences of Ralegh from his own lips.

[2] *now*,

LETTER LXXXVIII.
1600. March 27.

This is all I can say from this poore place, and that I am ever your poorest and trewest frind and sarvent,

W. RALEGH.

This 27 of March [1600].

Addressed: "*To the right honorable Mr. Secretary.*"

Endorsed: "27 *March*, 1600. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.*"

## LXXXIX.

## TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. (Unarranged Papers.) (**Rolls House.**) Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER LXXXIX.
1600. April 6.
To Lord Cobham. [From Sherborne.]
Ralegh's desire to have the government of Jersey.—Cobham's sales of timber.—Hope of a meeting at Bath.

I CANNE write your Lordshipp nothing from hence, butt that wee live. I have written to Master Secritery that I would be gladd that Her Majesty weare butt good for PAWLETT'S matter,[1] though I hope not after it or ought elce; butt if ther be neather honor nor profitt I must begynn to keep sheep bytyme. Speaking with my cusen BRETT,[2] a very honest gentelman, hee complayned to me what abuse was offred your Lordship about your wood-sales by CHARDRE. It is certayne that the land will nott be lett for half the valew hereafter, when ther is left no trees uppon it, to build or mend a tenement; and it seems they have sold the very hedgros. Wheruppon I desired my cusen BRETT to enquire more particulerly of the matter, and this day hee sent me this inclosed letter. I thought good to lett your Lordship know of it, for thes hireling officers will undo us all.

[1] Meaning the government of Jersey.

[2] Sir Alexander Brett; after 1603, one of Lady Ralegh's trustees.

LETTER LXXXIX.
1600. April 6.

God hold your Lordship in the mind to cum to the Bathe. If your Lordshipp receve awnswere that BATES' howse is taken up, it is butt for me; and your Lordship may have the on[1] half notwithstanding. I am wher[2] I can do your Lordship no services. I will not, therefore, pester you with idell words in which I can butt profess what I would more willingly execute; till when, and ever, your Lordship's absolutely to comande,

W. RALEGH.

I beseich your Lordship to remember me to the Lord THOMAS [HOWARD]. 6 of Aprill, att night.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very good Lorde, the Lord Cobham.*

## XC.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxviii. § 83 (Hatfield). In the hand of an amanuensis. Subscribed and signed.

LETTER XC.
1600. April 21.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

IT maie please your Honor, I am much importuned by my cosen, Mr. HENRY CAREW, to desire your fauvor towards his distressed sonne, that his enlargement out of prison maie be procured by good bonds, sufficient sureties, or by anie other meanes that were possible.[3]

[1] *one.* [2] *I.e.* at Sherborne.

[3] In the issue this business proved to be a difficult and protracted one. Young Carew seems to have remained several years in confinement, or at least under restraint. There are many letters at Hatfield which relate to the long treaty for his liberation. Those of them which I have read do not explain the nature of his offence, but I infer from them that it was of a political sort. In Elizabethan days the need of a *Habeas Corpus* was sometimes much greater than in the worst of the Stuart days. And this branch of the Carews was 'recusant.'

LETTER XC.

1600. April 21.

In favour of the son of Henry Carew, then under imprisonment.

The gentleman offereth £1,000 caution, or a greater sume, if it maie be accepted, to have his sonne out upon anie condicions that shalbe required; and his earnest solicitation importuneth me to move you to direct what course you shall thinke fytt in your honorable wisedome. And so do humblie take my leave. From Sherborn Lodg, the 21th of Aprill, 1600.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Her Majesties Principall Secretary.*

Endorsed:

1600. xxith April. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master. In favour of Mr. Harry Carye.*

## XCI.

## TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. (Unarranged Papers.) (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date of year.

*** The purposed journey of Lord Cobham to Bath to meet Ralegh, which forms the subject of this brief note, is alluded to more than once in the letters of Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney, written in the spring of 1600; and he also speaks often of Cobham's great favour with the Queen; of which indeed the proofs, otherwise, are ample. After the wont of courtly favour, it had its partial eclipses. A fortnight later than the date of Ralegh's present letter, Rowland Whyte writes: "My Lord Cobham stays from going to the Bathe, and purposes with all the strength and credit he hath to get an estate in Otford Park." For this park, Sir Robert Sydney was also a suitor; and Whyte adds that the Lord Treasurer

Buckhurst had offered to support Sir Robert's suit,—in opposition to Cobham's,—on condition that Sir Robert should assign to him a life estate in Otford Park.[1]

LETTER XCI.

1600. April 29.

To Lord Cobham. From Bath.

Disappointment at Lord Cobham's absence.

MY WORTHY LORDE,

HERE we attend you and have don this senight, and . . . mourne your absence; the rather because wee feare that your m[ind] is changed. I pray lett us here from you att least, for if you cum not wee will go hereby home, and make butt short tariing here. My wyfe will dyspaire ever to see you in thes parts, if your Lordship come not now. Wee can butt longe for you and wyshe you as [our] owne lives whatsoever.

Your Lordship's everest faythfull,
to honour you most,

W. RALEGH.

Bathe, the 29 of Aprill [1600].

Addressed:
*To the right honorable my very good Lorde, the Lord Cobham, give these.*

## XCII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar **C, b ii.** § 14 **(Hatfield)**. The letter is undated, but the MS. Catalogue of the Hatfield Papers assigns to it the date of Oct. 15, 1600, from the endorsement. Holograph.

LETTER XCII.

1600. Oct. 15.

MAY it please your Honor to receve knowledg from this bearer, Mr. PAULE JUEY,[2] what wee have determined for

[1] *Sydney Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 193, 194.
[2] An eminent military engineer, as will appear presently.

LETTER XCII.

1600. Oct. 15.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Jersey.

Proceedings in the fortification of the Island.—Character of Juey, the engineer.—Accounts of the late Governor.

the fort *Isabella Bellissima* in the ilett,[1] where we have left workmen to finishe as mich as this season of the yeare will permitt, and the rest to be dun in March followinge. The charge wherof wilbe exceeding great, as Mr. JUEY uppon his conscienc can wittnes; and the profitt of the Iland so farr under the common valuation as, untill your Honor see the King's own Liger Booke, yow will not beleve. But, howsoever it succeed, I hold my sealf unmeasurable bound to her Majestye for her gratius respect to me therin. And I will never thinck of any peny receite till that peece of work be finished and past the recovery of any enemye; be it butt for the name-sake[2] which I have presumed to christen it by,—being before without any denomination att all.

It had been very happy for mee if PAULE JUY had remayned to finishe what he began ther,—which, I assure yōur Honor by the livinge God, is as prayse-woorthy a woorke, both for his judgment, invention, and industry in saving charge, as ever any man behelde. And I have not seene a devize of that place[3] and pride in any place of Europe.

Sir, I do assure yow the poore man hath an excelent gift in thes workes, and—that which is rarely joyned to suche knowledge—as mich trewth and honestye as any man can have. Your Honor, in my poore judgment, shall do her Majestye good service to be a meane for his releife; for such an other will not be had.

[1] *islet.*

[2] The reader will doubtless call to mind the chronology of "Isabella Bellissima," but Ralegh's flattery is not a whit more extravagant than that of his correspondent himself. And it was about this very time that Henry the Fourth, when embracing a miniature of "Isabella," expressed his passionate regrets that it was not permitted to him to embrace the original of the sweet picture.

[3] So in MS.

LETTER XCII.

1600. Oct. 15.

For the accompts of the late governor,[1] the[2] ar strang to me; for PAWLE JUY did more with £300 then hee did afterward for £2,000. And PAWLE JUY is fittest to be used in the accompts because he can cumpare worke to worke, and judge of the rest, better then any man cann. For besyds the unmeasurabell reckninge made by Sir A. PAWLETT of her Majesties monies, they ar not ashamed to aske £500 debt of her Majestye due to them.

For Mountorguell, I have vewed itt,[3] and do not find

[1] Sir A. Paulett, Ralegh's immediate predecessor.

[2] *they.*

[3] Mont Orgueil Castle, here referred to by Ralegh, is still a place of great interest to the visitor. It derives its attractions, not certainly from its architecture, but from the romantic beauty of its position. It towers above a charming bay, to a height which commands an extensive view of the coast of Normandy. It also possesses many interesting and varied associations with the history of the past.' Philip of Valois made an attempt upon it, in the hope of diverting Edward the Third from his conquests in France. Bertrand du Guesclin, at the head of a French army worthy of its chivalric leader, forced it to a surrender, the completion of which was prevented by the timely arrival of an English fleet. William Prynne was confined here for three years, as a prisoner of Charles the First; to be presently succeeded by Charles the Second, as a refugee from the victorious Cromwell. The Puritan prisoner here diversified his ponderous labours in controversy and antiquities, with verses in praise of Mont Orgueil, interlaced with "Meditations from its rockie steepe, and loftie situation;" his verses proving to be more ponderous even than his records. The royal exile had a famous attendant who here employed his involuntary leisure in the composition of part of the *History of the Great Rebellion.*

That portion of the structure of which Ralegh particularly speaks as so costly to 'Her Majesties father,' &c. was the work of one of his predecessors, Sir Thomas Auvrey; and, when he visited it, was but about fifty years old. Another adjacent portion still bears the arms of Elizabeth, and the date '1593.' Among the older parts of the Castle is a most curious crypt, the vaulting of which is supported by very short and rude columns. The noble old pile is—or was a few years ago—

> "All tenantless, save to the crannying wind,
> Holding but dark communion with the clouds."

But it will long repay a visit and a climb, and, to many visitors, will have an additional interest, as having been one of the last objects of curiosity to Ralegh, in his days of freedom and prosperity.

that I had any cummission to demolishe it; and to say trew it is a statly fort of great capacetye, both as to mentenance and cumfort, to all that part of the iland next unto Normandy, which stands in vew therof; so as, untill I knew further her Majesties pleasure, I have left att myne owne charg sume men in it. And, if a small matter may defend it, it weare pitty to cast it down; having cost her Majestyes father, brother, and sister,—without her own charge,—20,000 marks the erecting.

LETTER XCII. 1600. Oct. 15.

I will leve the rest untill my cumming from Cornewale, and then lett you know the estate of that poore place, the importance of it, and how it hathe bynn handled. Till then, and ever, I rest reddy to do yow all honor and service.

W. RALEGH.

## XCIII.

### TO THE LORD TREASURER BUCKHURST AND SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxxi. § 33 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER XCIII. 1600. Nov. 4. To Lord Buckhurst and Sir R. Cecil. From Radford.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR HONORS,

ACCORDINGE to the order which I had from yow, I have proceeded in[1] Cornwale and agreed with the Tynners for a prize[2] certayne,—twenty shillings in the thowsand less then I had cummission to geve them, which they desire by peticion to have added, and which, for myne own poore oppinion, I could wishe that her Majestye, out of her own liberalletye, should bestow on them.

[1] *into.* [2] *price.*

LETTER XCIII. —— 1600. Nov. 4.

Affairs of the Stannaries. —Agreement with the Cornish Tinners.

Mr. BRIGANCE and Mr. CUNNOCKE can informe your Honors how I have proceeded,—who can best judge what my littell creditt here hathe done in this bussness.

Mr. CUNNOCKE hyme sealf hathe taken great paynes herein, and furnisht mee with many good arguments and reasons. Your Honors could not have imployed any man, as I thincke, both for his dillegenc and knowledge, of more sufficiencye. Mr. BULMER'S offer of £29 held us longe uppon that prize,[1] and hath dun us mich wronge in this bussness. And had we not caled such a jurey as wee did of the principall gentelmen, wee had had a longe worke of it.

Ther ar yet many things to be done which this gentelman[2] can better informe your Honors of then my sealf, which your Honors will take care of. For my sealf, I have performed your cummandments, and have littell elce to do butt to see promis keipt with thes poore men to whom my faythe is ingaged. And this bearer can informe your Honors trewly wher[3] thes Tynners do not more rely thereon, then on all the rest of our argumentts.

I will shortly attend yow my sealf. And, in the mean while, I humblie desire to be continewed in your favors, and will remayne ever reddy to do all the honor and service I shall bee abell.

From Radford, by Plymouth, this 4th of November [1600].

W. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorabell the Lorde of* BUCKHURST, *Lorde High Treasorer of Inglande, and Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritorye, &c.*"

Endorsed, in Sir R. Cecil's hand: "4 *November*, 1600. *Sir Walter Ralegh;*" and, in another hand, "*To my Lord Threasorer and to my Master. From Radford, by Mr. Connocke.*"

[1] *price.* [2] Connocke, who brought the letter from Devon. [3] *whether.*

## XCIV.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C, b ii. § 107. (Hatfield.) In the hand of an amanuensis. With autograph subscription and signature.

LETTER XCIV.
1600. Nov. 15.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.
Tin Mills on Roborough Down, and the suits about them between Mr. Crymes and the Town of Plymouth.

SIR,

THIS gentleman, Mr. CRYMES, hath erected certein clash-mylls upon Roburghe Down, to worke the tynn which upon that place is gott with extreame labor and charge out of the ground. And because the townsemen of Plymouth seeke to procure all the commoditie thereabouts into their own hands, they alleage that theis mylls are prejudiciall to them, and that the course of their water, which runneth through Plymouth, is diverted, contrary to a Statute.

I tooke the paines to view the river and mylls. I found that,—in my opinion,—they could not disallow the building or using the same: for that there are about 200 works which must be unwrought, without the use of such clash-mylls and the benefytt of that river, and no hindraunce at all to the water-course. Otherwise. her Highness can receave no commodotie therebie, and the poore Tynners wilbe undone.

I had an especiall care to satisfie them; and the Tynners made an Act that those clash-mylls shold not be prejudiciall to the towne. Notwithstanding, they have procured *sub penas* out of the Starre Chamber, to call the matter in question there; the matter being tryable and determinable in the Stannery Courts, where it

LETTER XCIV. — 1600. Nov. 15.

now dependeth. But, if this be suffered to proceed in the Starre Chamber, it will not be avaylable to speake of her Majesties late imposicion or encrease of Custome, or to establish good lawes amongst Tynners; when others who can by a great purse, or procuring extraordinary meanes, deminish to their power her Majesties duties and the common benefytt of the people.

I do humblie therefore desire your honorable favour in their behalfe that, when the question shall grow for this matter in the Starre Chamber, that[1] it maie be either respited untill my comming, or dismissed to the place and nature of the proper tryall. And so do humblie take my leave. From my house at Shyrebourne, the 15th of November, 1600.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Her Majesties Principall Secretary.*

Endorsed:

15 *November*, 1600. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master, in favour of Mr. Crymes.*

[1] MS. thus repeats '*that.*'

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XCV.—*RALEGH'S COUNSEL TO SIR ROBERT CECIL, ON THE TREATMENT, IN THE YEAR* 1600, *OF THE EARL OF ESSEX.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XCV.

1600.

ALL that it seems needful here to add to what has been said heretofore [Vol. I. *Life*, pp. 258, 259] as to the true date at which this letter was written, relates to the succession of those events in the life of the Earl of Essex which intervened between his return from Ireland and his fatal insurrection. Essex reached the Court on the 28th of September, 1599. He appeared before the Council on the following day. On the 1st of October he was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper at York House. On the 5th, he was again examined, by the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, and Secretary Cecil. On some subsequent day he wrote a letter to the Queen (undated), in which he says: "To redeem this offence and recover your Majesty's gracious favour, I would do, I protest, whatsoever is possible for flesh and blood." The Court letters of these months of October and November 1599 abound in expressions which make two things obvious: first, that growing murmurs, both in the metropolis and beyond it, at the continuance of the Earl's imprisonment—without any open trial or inquiry—excited the Queen's anger, and made the intercession of his friends with her more difficult; secondly, that, this fact notwithstanding, there was amongst the courtiers a fluctuating but general expectation of his speedy release; varied, at intervals, by rumours that he was after all to be sent to the Tower. The letters of Rowland Whyte to Sir Henry Sydney, and those of Chamberlain to Carleton, may be especially referred to in illustration of these statements.

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On the 28th of November, the Queen, attended by the Earl of Worcester and the Countess of Warwick, visited Essex at York House, and on the following day a Court of Star Chamber was held, at which a public declaration of the "Causes of the imprisonment of the Earl of Essex" was agreed upon. One of the Earl's officers, William Trew, wrote on that day a letter in which he expresses his hope that the meeting of this Court would turn out well for his master, and connects both its assembling and the Queen's unexpected visit to the Earl with the unknown contents of some mysterious letter which had been laid in the Queen's way, and upon the finding of which, he says, "there was a great stir in the Court that night, and some of the Guard that gave out they must wait upon my Lord to the Tower had their coats plucked off."[1]

"The bright sunshine," writes Chamberlain in February 1600, "that seemed so to dazzle the friends of my Lord of Essex was indeed but a glimmering light, that was suddenly overshadowed again. . . . They thought they saw a reconciliation between him and Mr. Secretary; whereupon they built many idle fancies and liberal discoursings, yet either their eyes were not their own, or else they had false spectacles." And he goes on to add that all that Cecil had really done for the Earl (as far as Chamberlain's own information went) was to carry to the Queen "his letter of submission, that kept him from the Star Chamber." Chamberlain's letter is dated,—according to New Style,—"22nd of February, 1600." The evidence that during some part of that month it had been intended to bring the Earl personally before the Star Chamber, and that Cecil had been the means, or the channel, of changing the Queen's intention, appears to be conclusive. This fact, when coupled with the internal evidence of the document itself, leaves little room for doubt that the ensuing letter belongs to the period of the Earl's first imprisonment, and,

[1] Letter now at Blithfield, quoted in *Lives of the Devereux*, ii. 92.

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to speak more exactly, to some time during that imprisonment when rumours of a reconciliation between him and Cecil were current; and not to the imprisonment which followed the insurrection of February 1601. For its transfer—recently attempted—to the later date there is no evidence, or shadow of evidence, at all. It is an arbitrary conjecture in the teeth of the evidence.

It was not until the 19th of March, 1600 [N.S.], that the Earl of Essex was permitted to leave York House for Essex House. He was still to remain in strict custody, and to be visited by such persons only as received the Queen's permission. On the 5th of June he was brought before a Special Commission, which met at York House to hear and determine five several accusations of misgovernment in Ireland and of disobedience to the Queen's commands. The decision of the Commissioners was conveyed to the accused Earl and to the auditory by the Lord Keeper Egerton, in these words: "If this cause had been heard in the Star Chamber, my sentence must have been as great a fine as ever was set upon any man's head in that Court, and perpetual imprisonment in that place which belongeth to a man of his quality,—that is, the Tower. But now that we are in another place, and in a course of favour, my censure is that he is not to execute the office of a Councillor, nor to hold himself for a Councillor of Estate, nor to execute the office of Earl Marshal of England, nor of Master of the Ordnance; and to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner, as before, till it shall please her Majesty to release both this and all the rest." Of the effect of this proceeding on the Queen's mind Bacon has given a striking account: "The Queen," he says, "willed me to set down in writing all that passed that day. . . . I read the narration to her in two several afternoons; and when I came to that part which set down my Lord's own answer, which was my principal care, I do well bear in mind that she was extraordinarily moved with it, in kindness and relenting towards my Lord. She told me afterwards—speaking how

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well I had expressed my Lord's part—that she perceived 'old love would not be forgotten.' Whereto I answered, suddenly, that I hope she meant that by herself."[1]

Eighteen days after the inquiry at York House, in the course of a charge addressed to the Judges of Assize, the Lord Keeper—when sitting in the Court of Star Chamber—made a digression upon the case of Essex and repeated many of his former observations when passing sentence. He added that the Queen had taken that unusual course "to satisfy the world, and to stop the slanders that gave out that the Earl was condemned '*Causa inaudita*.'" It was in the brief interval between the hearing at York House and the Lord Keeper's speech at the Star Chamber that Rowland Whyte assured Sir Robert Sydney that "Master Secretary continues to do good offices" for the Earl, "and in time will prevail, no doubt; yet," he adds, "is there no reconcilement."[2]

On the 26th of August the Earl of Essex was summoned again to attend the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, and Secretary Cecil, at York House, and was then informed that it was her Majesty's pleasure he should have his liberty. As is well known, he never received permission to see the Queen or to approach the Court. His latest and ablest biographer, Mr. Devereux, is of opinion that by the advice of Lady Warwick he watched for an opportunity of presenting himself unannounced before the Queen, at Greenwich, and was contemptuously spurned. This opinion is partly based upon an original letter, from the Earl to the Queen, preserved at Hulton, in which occurs this remarkable passage: "I sometimes think of running; and then remember what it will be to come in armour triumphing, into that presence, out of which both by your own voice I was commanded, and by your hands thrust out." The letter containing these words is undated, and the context offers some difficulty in giving to it even a con-

[1] Bacon to Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire,—the Lord Montjoy of Ralegh's letters.

[2] *Sydney Papers*, ii. 210.

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jectural date. All that is certain is that, as the hope of regaining the Queen's favour died away, Essex indulged in frequent and furious ebullitions of anger. Sir John Harrington, after an interview with him at this period, wrote thus: "His speeches of the Queen become no man who hath *mens sana in corpore sano*." Ralegh, long afterwards, calling to mind those angry speeches and what he had seen of their effects, said: "Undutiful words of a subject do often take deeper root than the memories of ill deeds do. The late Earl of Essex told Queen Elizabeth that her 'conditions' were 'as crooked as her carcass;' but it cost him his head, which his insurrection had not cost him, but for that speech."[1]

These words of Ralegh are of more weight, perhaps, than the passage which has been quoted from the letter at Hulton, in making it probable that Essex did get within sight and speech of Elizabeth at some time between the close of the imprisonment at York House in 1600, and the insurrection of 1601. The word 'conditions' can scarcely be applicable to anything that had transpired before the year 1600. The terms of the letter preserved amongst the Hulton MSS. are such as may, by possibility, refer to the famous 'box-on-the-ear' interview of 1598.

In the few but pregnant lines which begin with the words "*For after revenges, fear them not*," Ralegh has epitomized some of the strangest of the many family vicissitudes that mark the annals of England in Tudor times. He takes his first example from the career of his own comrade-in-arms of Cadiz and the Island Voyage, Lord Thomas Howard, who had already attached himself strongly to the faction and the fortunes of Robert Cecil, in despite of their respective parentage. He was the son of the great feudal Duke who had aspired to the hand of the Queen of Scots, and whose ruin had made no inconsiderable contribution towards broad-

[1] *Prerogative of Parliament*, p. 49.

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ening and strengthening the fortunes of the Cecils. Lord Thomas was already, when Ralegh's letter was written, Lord Howard of Walden. Almost immediately after James' accession he was created Earl of Suffolk (July 21, 1603) and made Lord Chamberlain. He was one of the Commissioners appointed to try Ralegh on the charge of high treason, a few months afterwards; and it is by his hand that the precept for impanneling the jury is signed. It was his sagacity, not the King's, that at the instant put the right interpretation on the mysterious words in the Gunpowder Plot letter which had been addressed to Lord Monteagle, and he was the first to go down into the vaults beneath the Parliament-house. In 1614, he became Lord High Treasurer. Four years later, he was accused of having embezzled a great part of the money received from the Dutch for the cautionary towns; and was deprived of office and fined £30,000,—a fine which the King reduced to £7,000. He was the builder of Audley End, and the father of the notorious Frances Howard, successively Countess of Essex and of Somerset, and the murderess of Overbury. He married his youngest daughter to the "Will Cecil" of this letter (afterwards second Earl of Salisbury), and so verified—in one sense of the words—Ralegh's forecast: "He may also match in a better house than that of Essex."

The "SOMERSET" of the next sentence is Edward Seymour, better known as Earl of Hertford, and the husband of Lady Katherine Grey. He was the eldest son of the Protector Somerset, and was himself Duke of Somerset—though omitted, as such, in all the Peerages—for the brief interval between the 22nd of January, 1552, the day on which the Protector was beheaded, and the day of the passing of that Act of the 5 and 6 Edward VI. which deprived the young Duke both of his dignities and his lands. The Protector had been convicted of felony, but not of treason. His honours and estates passed to his son, until the Duke of Northumberland induced Parliament thus to visit the alleged crimes of the Protector on the offender's son, as well as on himself. Elizabeth restored to

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the deprived Duke his father's earldom of Hertford in January 1559. The terms on which he lived with the Earls of Leicester and Warwick led Ralegh to take his case as an illustration of the doctrine that in the rivalry of political strife hereditary feuds are little to be feared. The Earl of Hertford afterwards served James as Ambassador to the Archdukes, in 1605, with unusual pomp and splendour. He lived until 1621, and was succeeded by his grandson, William Seymour, famous in history both as the timid and self-protecting husband of Arabella Stuart, and as the unwavering and lavish adherent of Charles the First. He, like his grandfather, survived many dark days. He lived to be restored to the dukedom of Somerset, by Charles the Second.

"NORTHUMBERLAND *that now is*"—namely, Henry Percy, ninth of the Percy Earls of Northumberland, and often called the 'Wizard Earl'—was the son of that Earl who had been imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of conspiring on behalf of Mary, Queen of Scots, and who was found dead in his bed, shot with three bullets, on the 21st of June, 1585. A servant of Sir Christopher Hatton had been, in some unusual and irregular way, introduced into the Tower to take the immediate custody of the Earl, just before his suspected murder. The rumour that Hatton had some guilty knowledge of that murder—if murder there was—gained much currency with contemporaries; although, upon a coroner's inquest, a verdict of 'suicide' was found. The passage in the text—"*thinks not of Hatton's heirs*"—is sufficiently remarkable when it is remembered that Hatton was Ralegh's predecessor in the Captaincy of the Guard, and that Ralegh himself had, in 1600, already known the then Earl of Northumberland intimately during many years. At the least, it affords proof that the belief in Northumberland's murder existed in the minds of statesmen, as well as on the tongue of popular rumour. And in this case, also, the subsequent history of the person referred to enhances the interest of the allusion. "Northumberland that now is" had to suffer an imprisonment in the Tower in his turn, and

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for a longer period than his father, although with a less fatal issue. As fellow-prisoners, Ralegh and he had many opportunities of intercourse in after years. Alike, they sought to solace confinement by hard study, and to set their minds at liberty, notwithstanding the restraint of their bodies. It is notable, too, that neither of them—after desperate efforts, backed by exalted influence—succeeded in attaining any other kind of liberty, until after the deaths both of Cecil and of Henry Howard.

The reference to Bothwell—"*Let the Queen hold* 'BOTHWELL' *while she hath him*,"—is meant, as it seems, to indicate the writer's opinion that Essex, if set free from restraint and permitted to aspire again to power, was likely to become as formidable to the Queen's peace and safety, as Francis Stuart, Earl of Bothwell, had then recently proved to be to the quiet rule of the Scottish king, James the Sixth, his near kinsman; both being grandsons, though in a different fashion, to James the Fifth. This Earl of Bothwell had levied forces more than once against the King of Scots; had been convicted of treason; then pardoned; then declared again to be a traitor. For a time, he had been a fugitive in England. There had been much angry discussion between the Government of James and that of Elizabeth about the "countenance" alleged to have been shown to him, and Robert Cecil's assumed responsibility for such favour as he may at any time have received was one of the causes—additional to the older ones arising out of the death of Queen Mary—which made the very name of 'Cecil' so long ungrateful to the ears of King James. At the date when this letter was written, it is probable that Bothwell was an exile in Spain. For we have, almost contemporaneously with it, another letter addressed to Sir Robert Cecil, by one of his foreign intelligencers, in which, after telling the Secretary that Bothwell was about to enter upon some service against England, the writer proceeds thus: "In particular he hath promised to raise a great army in Scotland, when the King of Spain shall be pleased to com-

mand him."[1] Ultimately, he died in Italy, either in 1612 or in 1613.

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As to the evidence on the point of date of the endorsement, it will suffice to remind the reader that another letter of Sir Walter Ralegh, preserved also at Hatfield,—and already printed in the present volume,[2]—bears, in the hand of a secretary of Cecil, the endorsement "1590;" although, as has been shown, it could not have been written until 1597, at the earliest. There is no need at all to suppose the error—in either instance—to have been designed. Mistakes of this sort are far from being uncommon, in cases where no matter of conflict or controversy is at stake. The papers now at Hatfield afford many instances of them.

Under any view of it, this letter of 1600 is an ungenerous one, as it respects Essex. It is also one of an obviously immoral tendency. It inculcates the doctrine that acts of bitter hostility, and even deeds of open violence, may be committed with the less peril, inasmuch as the dictates of human selfishness will very often suffice to hinder "after-revenges," by the relatives of the sufferer, upon the doer; and it leaves altogether out of view those "after-revenges," of a graver sort, which Ralegh himself, a few years later, expounded[3] in words as impressive as ever came from an English pen. None the less is it an essential part of the duty of an Editor to show that this Letter—whatever its other faults—is *not* an incitement to the raising of a political scaffold, in order to avenge personal injuries sustained by its writer, or to remove a stumbling-block from his onward path.

[1] Izod to Cecil; *Cecil Papers* (Hatfield), vol. lxxxiii. § 23.

[2] Above, p. 199.

[3] In his Preface to the *History of the World.*

## XCV.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xc. § 150 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Undated.

LETTER XCV.

1600. [Between February and August.]

To Sir R. Cecil.

Against the return of the Earl of Essex to office and power.

SIR,

I AM not wize enough to geve yow advise; butt if yow take it for a good councell to relent towards this tirant, yow will repent it when it shalbe too late. His mallice is fixt, and will not evaporate by any your mild courses. For he will ascribe the alteration to her Majesties pusillanimitye and not to your good nature; knowing that yow worke but uppon her humor, and not out of any love towards hyme. The less yow make hyme, the less he shalbe able to harme yow and your's. And if her Majesties favor faile hyme, hee will agayne decline to a common parson.

For after-revenges, feare them not; for your own father that[1] was estemed to be the contriver of NORFOLK'S ruin, yet his son followeth your father's son, and loveth him. Humors of men succeed not;[2] butt grow by occasions and accidents of tyme and poure. SUMMERSETT made no revendge on the Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND'S heares. NORTHUMBERLAND, that now is, thincks not of HATTON'S issew. KELLOWAY lives, that murderd the brother of HORSEY; and HORSEY lett hyme go by, all his lifetime.

I could name yow a thowsand of thos; and therfore after-fears are but profesies—or rather conjectures—from

[1] So in original letter, but the word is superfluous.

[2] *I. e.* 'are not inherited.'

LETTER XCV.
1600. [Between February and August.]

cawses remote. Looke to the present, and yow do wisely. His soonne shalbe the youngest Earle of Ingland butt on,[1] and, if his father be now keipt down, WILL CECILL shalbe abell to keip as many men att his heeles as hee, and more to.[2] Hee may also mache in a better howse then his; and so that feare is not worth the fearinge. Butt if the father continew, he wilbe able to break the branches, and pull up the tree; root and all. Lose not your advantage; if you do, I rede your destiney.

Your's to the end,

W. R.

[POSTSCRIPT.][3]—Lett the Q. hold BOTHWELL[4] while she hath hyme. Hee will ever be the canker of her estate and sauftye. Princes ar lost by securetye; and preserved by prevention. I have seen the last of her good dayes, and all ours, after his libertye.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERTE CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritory to her Majestye.*

Endorsed, in Sir Robert Cecil's hand: "*Sir Walter Ralegh;*" and, in a later hand, "1601."

[1] *one.* [2] *too.*

[3] This last paragraph is written *across* the margin of the letter. I therefore print it as a 'Postscript.' The subscription follows immediately after the word "destiney."

[4] See Prefatory Note.

## XCVI.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxiii. § 36 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER XCVI.

1600? or 1601? Feb. 2.

To Sir R. Cecil. [From Sherborne.]

Local news of the Spanish Fleet.—Lord Cobham.

SIR,

IF my newse be stale, it cost mee butt the labor to write it. A townsman's sonne of Sherborne hath bynn in Spaine, in a French bottome, and is now returned. He departed Lysborne the 15 of January which is late, and reporteth, for certayne, that the fleet of treasor is returned;—all but one great shipp, which is doubted of. Ther had then come sume 17 millions.

Hee spake with divers soldiers att Cascales, wher ther ar assembled 2,000, reddy to be imbarked in 30 sayle of shipps. Thos soldiers know no other butt that they were bound for Flanders:—it may be for Irland, or for sume other purpose. They take up our small men of warr very fast; not only with the good-sayling Dunkirks, butt cussen them with French bottomes,—which the Inglishe suspect not.

This that I write yow, yow may assure your sealf to be trew.

Yours as your sarvante,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I never receved on word from my Lord COBHAME,—neather of his suite, or of his cumminge or other matter, this 3 weekes. Yow have many letters of myne; I pray returne sume awnswere.

Candelmas day.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritorye, &c.* Hast, hast, post haste. W. RALEGH.

Endorsed by Sir R. Cecil: "*Sir W. Ralegh.*"

## 1601.

## XCVII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. fol. 84 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. The superscription in the hand of an amanuensis; but signed. Without date of year.

*** In the MS. Catalogue of the Hatfield Papers this letter is stated to belong to the year 1596. The internal evidence is conclusive of the fact that it cannot have been written until long afterwards; but I assign it only upon probable conjecture to the year 1601. Alarms about the fleets of Spain, and news about them, brought from the coast of Brittany, were almost equally rife in the August of 1599, in that of 1601, and again in that of 1602. (Comp. *Domestic Correspondence*, Elizabeth, of those dates respectively. Rolls House. Unarranged volumes; formerly marked Bund. '230,' and '235.') But two circumstances make it probable, that this letter was written in 1601:—(1) The "charge" here spoken of by Ralegh is shown by the context to be that of Jersey—conferred upon him in Sept. 1600. (2) It appears, from a letter of Thomas Phelippes to Sir Robert Cecil (Bund. '235,' No. 227), that in August 1601 Lord Cobham made a journey into Cornwall. Phelippes tells Cecil that Cobham had desired him to obtain some intelligence about the doings of the Spaniards, and understanding, he adds, that "his Lordship is in the West country," he therefore sends it to Cecil, in his stead. This passage seems to refer to the same journey which is mentioned by Ralegh. At all events, the letter belongs either to August 1601, or to August 1602; not, assuredly, to 1596.

LETTER XCVII.

1601? Aug. 13.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

Cobham's journey into Cornwall.—News of the Spanish Fleet.—Cecil's purchase of Rushmore.

SIR,

I HUMBLIE thanck yow for your letter which I receved this 13th att night, att Sherburne, dated from the Court the 11th; so it was to dayes and too nights cumminge. I my sealf went it in half a day less, and if ther weare any danger it would be no otherwize handled.

My Lord COBHAME stayd here butt one night, but went on for Cornwale. I could not by any mean disswade hyme. I canot beleve that thos 80 sayle ar Spaniards, if they weare seene so high up as St. Mallo's; for no winde could serve them in so farr yt hath blowne. Butt if the[y] hover about the mouth of the Channell, I am here nirer my charg then att London.

I have sent away your letter post to my Lord COBHAME. I humblie thanck yow for VIVIEN. Wee do wishe you more cordially then yow cann wishe your sealf. To morrow I go to Rushmore agayne to take thorrow order. The trees, I thinck, may be released agayne to the first buyers, for they are not so nire as I thought, and farr derer then worthe; and will stand yow, all wayes considered, 900*l.* If yow send me your pleasure, I will leve them. Rushmore will not be fitt for yow to cum to this yeare. It is so ruined as I canott lodge yow or my sealf therin.

I pray beleve that when all harts ar open and all desires tried, that I am your poorest and your fayth-fullest frind, to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburn, the 13th of August at night, when I receved your's.

LETTER XCVII.

1601? Aug. 13.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—BESS[1] returns yow her best wishes, notwithstanding all quarrells.

Addressed:

*For her Majesties speciall affaires. To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secretary to her Majesty, at the Court.* From Sherborne, the 13th of August, at 12 in the night. Post, haste. Hast, post, haste with all speede. W. RALEGH.

Endorsed: "*13th of August. Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master;*" and also with the dates of receipt at Salisbury, Andover, and Basing.

## XCVIII.

### TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. **(Rolls House.)** Holograph. Without date.

LETTER XCVIII.

[1601. August.]

To Lord Cobham. From Sherborne.

Hopes of a visit from Cobham. —Lawsuit with the Meeres. —News of a Dutch ship.

I HAVE sent your Lordship such news as came to me, from above, and your Lordship's letter to my Lord Treasurer agayne; it was brought me by the post, att midnight, and I opened it in a badd light and half asleap, thincking it had byn to my sealf. I hope your Lordship will be here tomorrow or a' Saterday, or elce my wife sayes her oysters wilbe all spilt[2] and her partrig stale; if your Lordship cannot cum Friday, I will wait on yow wher yow ar. I praye send mee word if yow go to lyve in Melplashe,[3] that I may attend yow; or a' Friday, I shall dispatch my busyness with the Justices here about those roggs the MEERS,[4] whereof the elder hath byn att Court to complayne, and brought the Lord THOMAS [HOWARD] to Mr. Secritory to deale for hym.

[1] Lady Ralegh. [2] *spoiled.* [3] Perhaps Malpas, near Truro. [4] See Vol. I., chap. xxi.

LETTER XCVIII. [1601, August.]

The younger, Master Secritory hath now sent for by pursevant, and if it had not byn to have sent informations against hym I had byn with your Lordship this morninge. I feare that my Cornishe men did not repaire to your Lordship to do yow service, because your passage was so suddayne; butt I am sure yow have had an ill jurny. I pray your Lordship to send us word whether yow have taken up the howse att Bath or no; that wee may send thither.

Your Lordship's ever, and wholly, to command,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—BESS[1] remembers hersealf to your Lordship, and sayes your breach of promise shall make yow fare accordingly.

The shipp of the South Sea . . . of Hollande is past by—and none of owers stayd her,—with a lantern of clean gold in her sterne, and arrived att Amsterdame infinit riche. Master MANSFIELD hath been abrod to great purpose. The Queen is removed to WARD'S[2] howse on Friday, and from thence to KNOWLSES in Reddinge.[3] Wher farther, it is not resolved.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lorde Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Her Majesty's Lieutenant-General of Kent.*

[1] Lady Ralegh.

[2] Or WARDER'S? See the Prefatory Note to Letters XCIX. and C.

[3] "Knowlses in Reddinge" is, I suppose, either Caversham Park, in Oxfordshire, or else the fine old baronial seat of one branch of the great family of Grey,—Rotherfield Greys, also in Oxfordshire. Both of them were, at this time, seats belonging to "Knowls," and both are near Reading. Until very recently, the pious reverence of the late Miss Catherine Stapleton for her ancestors—among whom were many who did their fair stroke of work for England in their day and generation—withstood the much miscalled "modern improvements," and kept up the old house and

## PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XCIX. AND C.—*RALEGH AND THE DUKE OF BIRON.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XCIX. AND C.

1601.

THE date of the preceding letter, No. XCVIII., is fixed by a comparison of the allusions in its postscript to the Queen's progress, with the following passages in two letters of John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton written in September 1601: "On the 13th of August, the Queen came to Windsor, and is expected shortly at Mr. Comptroller's at Causham."[1] And again: "The Queen's first remove from Windsor was to Mr. Warder's. Then to Reading. During her abode there she went to Mr. Comptroller's at Causham." Afterwards she went to Basing, the seat of the Marquess of Winchester, in Hampshire.

Of the visit to Basing, during this royal progress, of the Duke of Biron and his numerous companions, to which Ralegh refers so amusingly in the second of the letters which follow, Stow, in his *Annals*, gives this account:—"The fourth day after the Queen's coming to Basing, the Sheriff was commanded to attend the Duke of Biron at his coming into that country. Whereupon, the next day (10th of

the older park as historical places should be kept up. All that is now quickly suffering change.

The "Knowls" of this letter was Sir William Knollys, son of Elizabeth's faithful and plain-speaking old counsellor and cousin-german, Sir Francis. William Knollys was, at the time when Ralegh attended the Queen in this Progress, Comptroller of the Queen's Household. By James, he was successively created Baron Knollys of Greys (1603), and Viscount Wallingford (1616); and by Charles the First, Earl of Banbury (1626). He followed Robert Cecil, after an interval, in the Mastership of the Court of Wards. He lies, under a sumptuous tomb, in the Stapleton chapel of the village church of Greys,—a church which has lately been very needlessly "improved" (after the too-prevailing fashion of the day), into unmeaning smartness. The tomb and chapel, however, have escaped the fate of the church itself.

[1] See preceding footnote.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XCIX. AND C.

1601.

September) he went towards Blackwater, and there met the said Duke, accompanied with above twenty of the nobility of France and attended with about four hundred Frenchmen, who were met by George, Earl of Cumberland, and by him conducted from London into Hampshire. The said Duke was that night brought to the Vine, a fair and large house of the Lord Sondes, which house was furnished with hangings and plate from the Tower and Hampton Court, and with seven score beds and furniture which the willing and obedient people of the county of Southampton, upon two days' warning, had brought thither to lend the Queen. The Duke abode there four or five days, all at the Queen's charges, and spent her more at the Vine than her own Court spent, for that time, at Basing. During his abode there, Her Majesty went to him at the Vine, and he to her at Basing. And one day he attended her at Basing Park in hunting; where the Duke stayed her coming, and did there see her in such royalty and so attended by the nobility, so costly furnished and mounted, as the like had seldom been seen. But, when she came to the place where the Duke stayed, the said Sheriff (as the manner is), bare-headed and riding next before her, stayed his horse, thinking the Queen would then have saluted the Duke; whereat the Queen being much offended, commanded the Sheriff to go on. The Duke followed her very humbly, bowing low . . . with his cap off, about twenty yards. Her Majesty on the sudden took off her mask, looked back upon him, and most graciously and courteously saluted him." She tarried at Basing, continues the chronicler, thirteen days; "being very well contented with all things there done; affirming she had done that in Hampshire that none of her ancestors ever did, neither that any Prince in Christendom could do;—that was, she lived in her Progress in her subjects' houses; entertained a royal ambassador, and had royally entertained him." Such entertainment gratified the Queen's vanity and displayed the lavish magnificence of the English nobility. But it had its inconveniences. Even the wealthy

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XCIX. AND C.

1601.

Marquess of Winchester was, in some degree, impoverished by his enormous expenditure on this occasion. It was probably the most costly of all the royal visits ever made during a Progress. And Basing had very frequently been so favoured before.

That neglect of due attention to Henry's ambassador, on his arrival, of which Ralegh speaks so strongly, arose, it would seem, from no lack of instructions on the subject by the Lords of the Council. Ten days before the date of Letter XCIX. the Council sent its letters to the Earls of Sussex, Derby, and Hertford, and to the Lords Bindon, Compton, and Windsor, desiring them to give their attendance, "for the solemn reception of Marshal Biron, sent hither from the French king."[1] A like letter gave special instructions to the Earl of Cumberland to escort the Duke to Basing.[2]

In the course of the visit of September 1601, occurred one of the most curious conversations that have been recorded between a sovereign and an ambassador. Sully tells us in his *Memoirs* that the Duke of Biron had the boldness to question Elizabeth about her treatment of the Earl of Essex. He went so far as to express both his own compassion for the Earl, and his surprise that so much faithful service should have been followed by so tragical an end. Elizabeth, says Sully, was complaisant enough to state to the ambassador—who at that moment was certainly speaking, not for his master, but for himself—the reasons by which she justified her course. She told him that Essex had flung himself headlong into projects far above his strength, and that when,—notwithstanding that the evidence of his treason had become incontestable,—submission would still have brought pardon, no entreaties of friends or relatives could lead him to proffer it. "I know not," adds the great statesman who has recorded the conversation, and who had considerable knowledge of both interlocutors, "whether the Queen saw in the French ambassador certain

[1] *Registers of Privy Council*: Elizabeth, vol. xvii. p. 364. (Council Office.)

[2] Ibid. p. 372.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTERS XCIX. AND C.

1601.

points of resemblance with the English favourite. The just reflections on the functions of crowned heads and on the duties of subjects with which she wound up her recital leads one to think so. But Biron turned the conversation to no profit."[1] It adds to the striking character of the incident to observe that he was, at the moment when Elizabeth thus addressed him, already known at the French Court to have been plotting against his royal master. Henry had hoped that new trust, and the diversion from a career of arms to a career of diplomacy—the course which Bacon had recommended to Essex—would wean his old favourite from the food which had nourished an unwise ambition. Soon after his return from England, Biron was sent on a more serious embassy into Switzerland. But in less than ten months after the interview at Basing, he too came to the scaffold. Before any judicial procedure was begun, Henry addressed to him, in person, almost the very words which (according to Sully) Elizabeth had told him she, in a less direct way, had addressed, or had caused to be suggested, to Essex.

The French historian—or romancer on history—Eudes de Mezerai has improved upon the Duke of Sully's account of the intercourse between Biron and Queen Elizabeth by stating, for the information of his compatriots on our domestic manners, that when the Queen returned to London, Biron accompanied her; that they passed together through the Temple Gate of the City; and that when they came within sight of it, Elizabeth pointed out to the ambassador the gory head of Essex, there exposed as the head of a traitor.

When Ralegh was on his last journey from Devonshire to London, in 1618, some of the latest incidents of Biron's career came to his memory, and he conversed about them with his companions. Some of those incidents had first come to his ears, not long before the trials of 1603, in the vague form in which they had travelled to the French coast, and had been brought thence to Jersey by the Norman fishermen.

[1] Sully, *Mémoires* (edit. of 1814), tom. iii. p. 57.

## XCIX.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 22 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER XCIX.
1601. Sept. 7.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Crosby House.

Attendance on the Duke of Biron at Westminster and the Bear Garden. Arrangements for the Duke's journey to Basing.

SIR,

I AM gladd I came hither, for I never saw so great a person so neglected. He hathe bynn here now left; not on[1] nobelman nor gentelman to accompany them nor to gwyde them. And it is so long er they hard of my Lord of CUMBERLAND as they thought they weare neglected. Wee have caried them to Westmister to see the monuments; and this Monnday we entertayned them at the Bear Garden, which they had great pleasure to see.

Here hathe bynn with them Sir A. SAVAGE[2] and Sir ARTHUR GORGES, who hathe bynn their guides,[3]— without whom they had byn left allone. Their horses will not be provided till Wensday morninge. The posts say they cannot take up horses without cummission from the Lords of the Concell.

I sent to and fro, and have labored like a moyle[4] to fashion things so as on Wensday night they wilbe att Bagshoot, and Thursday at the Vine.

It weare good that A. SAVAGE and A. GORGES weare

[1] *one.*
[2] See the Prefatory Note to Letter LXVIII. p. 136.
[3] This reading is doubtful; the word being indistinctly written.
[4] *mule.*

LETTER XCIX. — 1601. Sept. 7.

cummanded to cum, because they speak French well, and ar familliar with them.

Your Honor's to do yow service,

W. R.

Crosby Howse, this Monday att 6 a'Clock.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritory. For Her Majesties most especiall service.*

W. RALEGH.

London, vii September, att ix a'clock att night.

Endorsed:

6[1] *Sept.* 1601. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. The entertaynment given to the Duke of Byron.*

## C.

## TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House.) Holograph. Without date.

LETTER C. — 1601. Sept. 12.

To Lord Cobham. From Basing.

Desire for his attendance on the Queen. — Presence of the Duke of Biron and his suite at Court.

I THAT know your Lordshipp's resolution when wee parted cannot take on mee to perswade yow, I will only say this muche; it is but a day and half jurney hither, the Queen will take it excceding kyndly and take hersealf more beholdinge unto yow then yow thinke. They French tarry butt 2 or 3 dayes att most. I will presently returne to the Bathe with your Lordship agayne. The French weare all black and no kind of bravery at all, so as I have only made mee a black taffeta sute to be in; and leave all my other sutes. This is all I can say, saving I only wished yow a littell to beare, and make

[1] So in MS. The date of the year is in a later hand.

LETTER C. 1601. Sept. 12.

he Queen so much the more in your debt. It will be Thursday er they have adience. It were to long to tell the Queens discource with me of your Lordship, and finding it, I dust not say that I knew yow weare resolved not to cum, butt left it to the estate of your boddy. I need not doubt butt that your Lordship will be here; yet I wishe yow to hold such a cource as may best fitt your honor and your humour together. If yow cum, shee will take it most kyndly. If yow cum not, it shalbe handled as yow will have it; and herein and all elce, I will remayne your's before all the worlde,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Basing, this Saterday night, late [12 Sept. 1601]. I am yeven now going att night to London to provide me a playne taffeta sute and a playne black saddell, and wil be here agayne Twesday night; and if your French jurney holde, it will muche stand you for them to know what yow ar here, for I am resolved that the Queen will most esteeme yow here and use you.

Addressed:

*To the Rt. Honbell. my very good Lorde Cobhame.*

## CI.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 53 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

SIR,

LETTER CI. 1601. Sept. 19.

I RECEVED a letter from Jersey, dated the 12th of this September, by which I was advertised that a barke of St. Malo's, cumminge from Lysbone the first of Sep-

LETTER CI.
1601. Sept. 19.
To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.
News of the Spanish Fleet.—Knavish proceedings of John Meeres.

tember, reportethe for certayne that the Spanishe fleete is still helde ther, together with some 6, or 7,000 soldiers, yeven then reddy to depart, ether for Irland or the Low Countres. Ther weare among them of shipps of warr some 25, the rest weare of all sortts for transportation only. The Frenche man is helde to be an honezt man and, as wee beleve in Jersey, will reportt no untrewth. If they be att sea this weather, they ar hardly besteede. The rest I leave to your judgementt.

I ment to have gone to the Bathe the day after my returne, but I fell sick, and so continew; wherby I shall not be abell this yeare to help my sealf therby. That rooge MEERS continews his knavery as violently as ever, and sent[1] down seven writts out of the Exchequer—on[2] to me and six more to divers poore men here, to vex them only, and to shew bravery. I must in this matter refer my reputation to your favorabell regard of mee. For nothinge ever concerned mee more.

I have by this bearer sent yow the gloves, but it is indented that if the[3] serve not your own hands, yow must of your grace return them agayne.

Your's ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, this 19th of September [1601].

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight. Principall Secritory, &c.*

Endorsed:

19 *September*, 1601. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.*

[1] So in MS.; 'hath' omitted. [2] *one.* [3] *they.*

## CII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 62 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER CII.

1601. Sept. 25.

To Sir R. Cecil. [From Sherborne.]

Lawsuits with Meeres, and other personal affairs.

SIR,

IT is trew that MEERES[1] is bounde to the good behavior by Sir GEORGE TRENCHARD and Sir RAUFE HORSEY, and three or foure other Justices of this shire. Butt the recognisence is not above £40. The rest that ar bound with hyme ar too or thre roggs of the country, and wher a counceler's cummandment is layde it serveth allwayes for a *supersedeas;* and did it not, yet by mee no advantage shalbe taken. That his wife is a kynswoman to my lady of ESSEX it is trew. She was a poore mans wife of this country, butt to[2] good for such a knave; and beinge a broken piece that, I thincke, few or none would have had, this knave,—hopinge therby to have bynn upheld by the Earle of ESSEX,—tooke her. Butt the Earle did not make shew to like MEERES, nor admitt hyme to his presence. Butt it was thought that secreatly he ment to have used hyme for sume mischeif agaynst mee; and, if ESSEX had prevayled, he had bynn used for the counterfeter. For he writes my hande so perfectly, as I cannot any way decerne the difference.

My wife wrate unto my Lady WALSINGAME towching MEERES, for he tooke into hys howse a sister of his wives who had sume 200 markes' portion, which the knave hath cussned her of and turned her of[3] a-begginge. Now that sister being as deere to my Lady as MEERS'

[1] See previous Letters; and also Vol. I., chap. xxi. [2] *too.* [3] *off.*

LETTER CII.
1601. Sept. 25.

wife, she cannot esteme such a knave who, if he respected her,[1] would not so abuse her sister as he hathe, who being unmaried and begotten with childe in his howse is now by hyme,—thus undun,—cussned and cast of.[2]

Besyds, I hope that my Lady of ESSEX cannot say butt, in matters of more importance, it hath pleased yow and your frinds to do her service since her Lord's death. Butt, howsoever it bee, if yow shall not thinck it fitt that hee submitt hym sealf—having used towards mee many more cussnegnes and villanes then ever DANIELL[3] did to my Lady of ESSEX—I shalbe contente with your

[1] Meaning, it would seem, 'if he respected *his wife*.' [2] *off*.

[3] John Daniel, of Danesbury or Dewsbury in Cheshire, who may possibly claim the distinction of having been the most thorough-paced and accomplished scoundrel known to the London of James the First. Ralegh's allusion is to his forgery of a series of letters entrusted by the Earl of Essex to the Countess' keeping. Daniel had married a Huguenot Frenchwoman, who had been in the service of Lady Essex, and had obtained that lady's confidence. When the Earl's troubles grew serious, Lady Essex feared, it seems, to keep the letters in her own house, and entrusted them to the charge of Daniel's wife. By her, they were shown to her husband, who stole them, and employed Peter Bales, a famous writing-master of the day, to make fac-similes. He then worked on Lady Essex' fears for her husband, by a series of villanies and threats which there is no need to narrate, until he had obtained an enormous sum of money as the condition of his returning to her the Earl's letters,—given in charge to her waiting-woman. The money obtained, he gave up the forgeries, and retained the originals; and then began to work upon the poor Countess' fears and love for her husband again. When the villany came at length to light, after the Earl's death, he was tried in the Star Chamber; sentenced to repay the money he had obtained from the Countess of Essex; and to pay a heavy fine to the Queen. The Queen compounded with him for the fine. He then set Lady Essex at defiance, and found one or more lawyers to support his plea that a pardon from the Crown, in such a case, disabled a meaner claimant from prosecuting her claim. His narrative of his own "Sufferings"—addressed to King James the First—was long kept in the Chapter House at Westminster (among the Records of the Treasury of the Receipt of the Exchequer), and is now in the new Rolls House. It is entitled *Danyell's Disasters*, and is a curiosity in the literature of knavery. The letters of Lady Essex on this strange affair are among the Papers at Hatfield. They are both touching and admirably written.

LETTER CII.

1601. Sept. 25.

order therin, and dare make my Lady of ESSEX judge in the cause.

MEERS hath sent down 26 subpœnas, to mee and other poor men, since he was cummitted.

If the Spanierds be now att sea, they ar in great distress. My Lord COBHAME is now with yow. I am sure the Queen must be a godmother and my Lord Admirall a fitt deputye. I beseich yow lett us know what becumes of Ostend and my Lord of NORTHUMBERLAND, to whom I have written of your carefull respect of hyme.

And, to conclude with MEERS, if ther be any nobell man, counceler, or gentelman that would be contented to be so provoked by a sarvant, and thinck it fitt to disgest so many indignites from a villayne raysed by hyme sealf, I wilbe contented to be ordered in this cause by such a one.[1]

BESS sayes that she must envy any fingers whosoever that shall weare her gloves, butt your owne.

Your's ever as your sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

25 of September [1601].

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knighte, Principall Secritory, &c.*

Endorsed:

1601. *September* 25. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master, concerninge Meeres.*

[1] Three days later than the date of this letter from Sir W. Ralegh, *Henry* Meeres wrote to Sir R. Cecil a letter dated from Sherborne, and bearing on its superscription Viscount Bindon's signature,—dated from Bindon,—enclosing certain "advertisements" which had been received by his Lordship, who, says the writer, "commanded me in haste to deliver them to the packet-bearer of Sherborne, which I performed this present day," &c. (*Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 69. Hatfield.) On the 3rd of October *John* Meeres, the person specially complained of in

## CIII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, marked '261 A.' (Rolls House.) Holograph.

LETTER CIII.

1601. Sept. 26.

To Sir Robert Cecil. [From Sherborne.]

Arrival of Scottish-men at Weymouth.—News of the Spanish Fleet.

SIR,

THER arived att Weimouth on Friday, the xxv[th] of this September, to Skottishmen, the on called ROBERT BLANSHILL, the other ROBERT PERISON, marchants of Aburdene;—they departed Lysbone the thirde of this present;—who affirme, on their oathes, that they weare stayde att Lysbone and St. Uvall[1] eyghteen weekes; and that ther depted from Lysbone, some dayes before their cuminge from thence, a fleet of greate Spanish shipps, to the number of thirty-six, and with them three Irishe shipps, one Irishe byshoppe, with many preists, and other Irishe men. They all gave out that they intended to land either att Cork or Lymbrike. The number of men weare 8,000, wherof 6,000 soldiers; the other 2,000 weare to bringe back the shipps. They weare well furnished with vittell, munition, and mony; and had also with them many women.

Sir Walter's letter printed above, thus addressed Cecil from his confinement in the Gatehouse: "I do hereby acknowledge my violent speeches used by [*i. e.* about] Sir Walter Ralegh, as formerlie I have done, and that they were spoken furiouslye and foolishelie; hoping that your Honor will have a mercyfull consideracion thereof, and waigh the tyme wherin I uttered them; the rather for that I am verie sorry for the same, and wilbe readye to make such satisfaction to him for the same as your Honor shall thinck meete, nothing doubting but that your Honor wilbe respective of my other causes that they may not [be] hereby impeached," &c.

[1] *St. Uvall.*] San Juan de Ulloa?

It seemethe by this report that a Plantation is ment. Thes Skottishe seem to be very honest men, and this intelligenc differeth littell from that I sent yow from Jersey. All which I leve to your better judgment, and rest your most assured to do yow service.

W. RALEGH.

LETTER CIII. 1601. Sept. 26.

Weimouthe, this 26 of September [1601].

Addressed:

*For Her Maiesties service. To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Principal Secritory to Her Maiestie.* Shirburne, the 26 of September, att 10 o'clock the forenoune.

Endorsed:

*Sir W. Raleigh to my Master. From Shirbonne.*

## CIV.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers; formerly marked '263.' (Rolls House.) Holograph.

LETTER CIV. 1601. Sept. 27. To Sir Robert Cecil. From Sherborne.

I WROTE unto yow the 26 of this present what I received from certayne Skottishe marchants. It is now manefest that bothe thos advertisements ar trew, for thos three pinneses which brought in the great prize att Plymouth of 900 chests of suger were chased by the Spanish fleet, seven dayes before their arivall; and they arived on Tuesday last,[1] the second of this moneath, and weare therfore chased of[2] the mouth of the Channell, which was about the 25 of August, and so must needs

[1] So in MS., but evidently by a slip of the pen. [2] *off.*

LETTER CIV.

1601. Sept. 27.

News of the Spanish Fleet.—Occurrences on the Irish coast.

be in Ireland or perished; from whence it seemeth yow canot hear by reason of this esterly winde.

Thos of Munster had some warninge of ther being on the coast, for one Captayne LOVE or Capt. LANE, being on the Irishe coast, forsooke his shipp, and went into a bote and tooke horse uppon the shore, and gave warninge to the next adjoyninge about the coast of Dungarvan, between Yoholl[1] and Waterforde. From there he tooke his shipp agayne and arived att Plymoth. Thes pinneses tolde 60 sayle. A Fleming also, cuming from Lysbone, confirmeth the former intelligence, and addeth therunto, either out of conjecture, or knowledge, or fame, affirming that the soldiers ar 6,000; that they have twelvemoneths pay, and like vittell, beforehande; that he saw many with chaynes of golde; and that generally the army was very brave, and well provided of all things; that certayne cannons were imbarked in some gallions, with all other things answerabell.

Sir, I beseich [you] to acquaynt my Lord Admirrall herewith, and that yow will vouchsaif to excuse me for not writing to his L[ordship], knowing that yow are of one mind and fortune, of one love and on[2] indevor for Her Majesties service.

Yours ever as your sarvent,

W. RALEGH.

Shirb[orne], the 27 of Sept. [1601].

Addressed:

*For Her Majesties speciall affaires. To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritory, &c.* Hast, &c.

[1] Youghal. [2] *one.*

## CV.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxviii. § 128 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER CV. 1601. Oct. 13. To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne. Recommendation of Mr. Stucley, for service in Ireland. —Invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards.

SIR,

IF I cum not to[1] late, I would be an humbell sutor unto yow for a cumpany in Irland for a gentelman, Mr. STUCKLY, who hath served with good reputation bothe by sea and lande. Hee was wounded with Sir RICHARD GRENVILE in the *Revendge*, and hath since served longue in Irland and elcewhere. For the rest, I will not trobell yow, but I will hope for your favor towards hyme, and rest your Honors to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburn, this 13 of October [1601].

[POSTSCRIPT.]—This bearer hath brought an Inglishman which came in the Spanish fleet. Hee will tell yow that they imbarked 4,000 men, but want ij great shipps and almost a 2,000 of their men. They ar riche in mony. The cummanders have brought their wives and children, which proveth that they mean to abide it, and make us a warr ther. They look for great supplies. They have broken down the wall, man's hight. They have intrenched without the towne; out of which they have bynn beaten twise in a day by Captain FLOWRE.[2] The Inglishe serve with invincibell currage agaynst them. Many Spanierds ar alreddy taken. They have too carvells uppon the entrance. The Deputy is not yet cum

[1] *too.*

[2] This reading is doubtful.

LETTER CV. 1601. Oct. 13.

to beseige them, but will shortly. DIEGO BROCHERO is admirall; SEBURO, vice-admirall. BROCHERO is thot dead. They had 6 great shipps of 900 toon, and on[1] of 1,300; all mand, for the most, with strangers. The most of the shipps ar gone. The rest tarry yet.

I had thought that this bearer had been STUCKLY, which made me write as I did. Butt he is still in Irlande, and therfore I do not miche desire anything in his behalf.

Your's ever to do yow service,

W. R.

Sherburn, this Wensday night.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Scritorye, &c.*

Endorsed:

14 *October*, 1601. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.*

## CVI.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxix. § 41 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CVI. 1601. Oct. To Sir R. Cecil. [From Sherborne.]

SIR,

I AM of oppinion that ether Kynsale was not the place purposed to be undertaken, or elce FLORENCE[2] was the cause therof, for the port bordereth his country. The towne is of small reseate, mastered by hills, and cumpassed with a weake wall. Butt wher as I herd that the Deputy and Presedent have written that they will make

[1] *one.* [2] Florence MacCarthy. See Vol. I., chapter xvi.

LETTER CVI.

1601. Oct.

Invasion of Ireland by the Spaniards. —Knavery of John Meeres

a short work of it, I am not altogether of that minde, and yet I do not thinck that Spayne will supply them in hast. Neather will thos Spanierds alreddy ther finde such a party as they hoped,—which may be some cause of thos governours' hopes. Butt, after a few dayes, yow shall here more; for, if the country stand sounde, then the warr wilbe the easier. Butt sure I am if thes Spanierds had cum in the begining of the warrs, the kingdome had bynn once lost. Yow shall finde, I warrant yow, that TIRRONE will bestire hyme sealf in the north, and every rebell in his quarter. For this is the last of all hopes.

For MEERES, I thinck by this tyme yow finde the strenght of his villanous spirrite, and yet a more notorious cowardly brute never lived. Butt if hee do not submitt hyme sealfe, hee will triumph that hee hath resisted mee and my greatest frinds. All which I leve to your favorabell care, and rest your ever most faythfull, to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—My wife sayes that yow came hither in an unseasonabell tyme, and had no leasure to looke abrode; and that every day this place amends, and London, to her, groes worss and worss. I have sent away her Majestie's letters and your Honor's with all dillegence; not doubting butt the soldiers, butt[1] first apoynted and thes, shalbe reddy. My deputes have written to mee that they will arme the first 50 men. What they will do for thes, I know not.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knighte, Principall Secritorye, &c.*

Endorsed: "*Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. Without date;*" and, in another hand, "*Oct.* 1601."

[1] So in MS., probably written for '*both.*'

## CVII.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxxvi. § 131 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CVII.

1601 ?

To Sir R. Cecil. From Jersey ?

Remittance of money to Jersey. —Particulars of a privateering adventure.

SIR,

I HAVE now receved of Mr. THOMAS FREAKE the full summe of foure hundred poundes, accordinge to your former letter, which I hope will sett all free. By the next, I will send a particuler, easier to be understoode. Mr. FREAKE had not so mich mony of his owne att the present, but hathe taken it up of his frinds. He was exceeding willinge to do yow service therin, and wilbe in any thinge that yow shall pleas to use hyme, for which I pray yow to returne hyme thancks. For it is a hard matter in this country[1] to make provision of mony.

By the next, I hope yow shall here that the shipp is gonn, that now stayes butt for the winde; and so, having no other matter of importance, I rest your's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSORIPT.]—I will returne the last letter by the next packett.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritorye, &c.*

Endorsed: "*Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.*" Without date.

[1] Jersey ?

1602.

## CVIII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xciv. § 56 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date of year.

SIR,

YOW will, I hope, geve me leve to salute my Lord COBHAME and yow, both in a letter. I can send no newse from hence. I here not from any part of the world as yet. I cannot send away a barke for Spayne, the winde blowing continewally att west and north west. From France I have hard nothing, butt that a bark of Granvile told me that the master was offred a hundred crowns to be pilot for this place by SPINOLA. Butt he concluded with a sute for the transporting of sea cole;—to which, I suppose, his silee[1] tale[1] tended.

I feare the cumming of many Norman gentelmen. Butt I cannot prevent it. I shalbe mich pesterd with them. I beseich yow bestow a line on me, that leve in desolation. And, if yow find no cause to staye me here, I would willingly returne.

The newses here of EPERNON'S flight from Court, the Constabell's[2] disgrading, and such other Rochell advertismentts, I beleve not. Yow best know what hathe paste.

I shall ever rest to do yow bothe service with all I have, and my life to boote,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER CVIII.

1602. July 20.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Jersey.

Greetings. —Foreign news and rumours. —Expected arrival of Normans in Jersey.

[1] These two words have been hurriedly written, and the reading is a little doubtful. The word "tended" is plain.

[2] *I.e.* the Marshal Duke of Biron.

LETTER CVIII.
1602. July 20.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—BESS will convey me your letters, if yow send any.

Jersey, the 20 of July [1602]. I arived here the 3rd, so I have walked here this 17 dayes in the wilderness.

Captain BUTTON is gon with the *Vangard.* Captain TURNER is here; and the three Flemings att Garnsey.

Addressed:

*For Her Majesties especyall affaires. To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, Her Majesties Principall Secretary.* Hast, &c.

W. RALEGH.

Endorsed:

*July 20. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. From Jersey.*

## CIX.

## TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (Rolls House.) Holograph.

*** That this partially-dated letter belongs to the year 1602, and that the "arrival," with a reference to which it begins, was from Jersey, is sufficiently shown by a passage in a letter of Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew, in which the writer says: "You cannot have answer from my Lord Cobham, because he is at Dover; nor from Sir Walter Ralegh, because he is at the West, newly come out of his Island. The rest will write unto you by the next." (MS. Tenison, dciv. f. 204. Lambeth Palace.) This was written on the 9th of August, 1602.

On the 8th of July, Chamberlain had written to Sir Dudley Carleton: "Sir Walter Ralegh is upon the way to his government in Jersey." (*Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers; Rolls House.)

The "Lord Viscount" of the postscript was Thomas Howard, third Viscount Bindon, a grandson of Thomas, eighth Duke of Norfolk. Of the suits referred to some account will be found in the preceding volume.

LETTER CIX.

1602. Aug. 12.

To Lord Cobham. From Sherborne.

Return from Jersey.—Its defences.—Hopes of an early meeting with Cobham and with the Earl of Northumberland.

MY WORTHY LORDE,

I AM now arived, having stayde so long as I had means. I caused the *Antelope* to be revitled for fourteen dayes, which was as much as that place could afforde; and that being spent, I durst not tarry to cum home towards Winter in a fisherman. I presume,—ther is no cause to doubt it,—the castells ar defensibell enoughe, [and] the countrey[1] reasonabell well provided. The Spanierds will ether do somewhat more prayseworthy, or attend a better opportunetye. I am reddy now to obey your cummandementts. If yow will cum to the Bathe, I will not fayle yow, or whatsoever elce your Lordship will use me in, in this worlde. I will now looke for the Lord HENRY of NORTHUMBERLANDE, who, I thincke, wilbe here shortly, knowing my returne, and I doubt not butt hee will meet us also att the Bathe, if your Lordship acquaynt hyme with the tyme. It is best, if your Lordship purpose it, to take the end of this moneth att fartheste.

I here that the Lord Chamberlayne is dead. If it be so, I hope that your Lordship may be stayde uppon good cause;—if it be so, I could more willingly cum eastward then ever I did in my life. Howsoever it bee, they be butt things of this worlde, by which thos that have injoyed them have byne as littell happy as other poore men. Butt the good of thes changes wilbe that while men ar of necessety to draw lotts, they shall hereby see their chanses, and dispose themsealvs accord-

[1] Jersey.

LETTER CIX.
1602. Aug. 12.

ingly. I beseich your Lordship that I may here from yow. From hence I can present yow with nothinge butt my fast love and trew affection, which shall never part from studiing to honor yow, till I be in the grave,

W. RALEGH.

Weimouth, this 12 of August [1602].

[POSTSCRIPT.]—My Lord Vicount [BINDON] hath so exalted MEERE'S sutes agaynst mee, in my absence, as neather Master Serjent HEALE nor any elce could be hard for mee to stay trialls while I was out of the land in Her Majesties service;—a right and curtesy afforded to every begger. I never busied myselfe with the Vicont's wealthe; [nor] of his extortions, or poysoninge of his wife, as it is here avowed, have I spoken. I have forborne here, in respect of the Lord THOMAS [HOWARD], and cheifly because of Master Secritory, who, in his love to my Lord THOMAS, hathe wisht mee to it. Butt I will not indure wrong att so pevishe a foole's hands any longer. I will rather loose my life And I thinck that my Lord Puritan PERIAM[1] doeth thincke that the Queen shall have more use of roggs and villayns then of men, or els hee would not, att BYNDON'S instances, have yeilded to try actions agaynst mee, being out of the lande.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell my singuler good Lorde, the Lord* COBHAME, *Lord Warden of the Five Portts, &c.*

[1] Sir William Peryam, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, from Feb. 1581 until Hilary Term of 1593; and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, from the latter date until Oct. 1604.

## CX.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xciv. § 160 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER CX.

1602. Aug. 21.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Weymouth.

Continued efforts for colonization of Virginia, and foundation of a trade therewith. —Arrival of some cargoes of sassefras wood, &c.

SIR,

WHERAS as I wrate unto yow in my last that I was gonn to Weymouth, to speake with a pinnes of myne arived from Virginia, I found this bearer, Captayne GILBERT, ther also, who went on the same voyage. Butt myne fell 40 leaugs to the west of it, and this bearer as much to the east; so as neather of them spake with the peopell. Butt I do sende both the barks away agayne, having saved the charg in sarsephraze[1] woode; butt this bearer bringing sume 2200 waight[2] to Hampton,[3] his Adventurers have taken away their parts, and brought it to London.

I do therfore humblie pray yow to deale withe my Lord Admirall for a letter to make seasure of all that which is cume to London, ether by his Lordships octoretye or by the Judge: because I have a patent that all shipps and goods are confiscate that shall trade ther, without my leve. And wheras sarsephraze was worth 10*s.*, 12*s.*, and 20*s.* a pound before GILBERT returned, his cloying of the market will overthrow all myne, and his owne also. Hee is contented to have all stayde; not only for this present: butt, being to go agayne, others will also go and distroy the trade, which, other-

[1] *Sassefras.*

[2] 2200 lb. or 22 cwt., as then computed.

[3] Southampton.

LETTER CX.
1602. Aug. 21.

wize, would yeild 8 or 10 for on,[1] in certenty, and a returne in xx weekes.

I desire butt right herein; and my Lord Admirall, I hope, will not be a hinderance to a matter of trade graunted by the Great Seale of Inglande; his Lordship havinge also freedome and an interest in the countrye. A man of my Lord's, of Hampton, arested part of GILBERT'S, for the tenths. I hope my Lord will not take it; belonging not unto hyme; having also hyme sealf poure to trade ther[2] by his interest. And it were pitty to overthrow the enterprize; for I shall yet live to see it an Inglishe nation.

Ther was also brought 26 sedar trees by GILBERT, which one STAPLYNE of Dartmouth hath. If my Lord will vouchsauf to write to C. HARRIS[3] to seaze them, we will part them in three parts,—to seele[4] cabineats, and make bords[5] and many other delicate things. I beseich yow vouchsauf to speak to my Lord. I know his Lordship will do mee right herein. I, for hast, have not written. For, if a stay be not made, it wilbe spent, and sold into many hands.

This bearer, Captayne GILBERT—who is my Lord COBHAME'S man—will find out wher it is. Hee came to mee with your post letter. It is he,—by a good token,—that had the great diamonde.

I beseich yow, favor our right; and yow shall see what a prety, honorabell, and sauf trade wee will make.

Your's ever to serve yow,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I hope yow will excuse my cumbersome letters and sutes. It is your destney to be trobled

[1] *one.* [2] *I. e.* to Virginia.
[3] Christopher Harris, an officer of the Admiralty. [4] *cid.*
[5] '*bords*' is probably here used in the sense of 'tables.'

LETTER CX.

1602. Aug. 21.

with your frinds, and so must all men bee. Butt what yow thinck unfitt to be dun for mee shall never be a quarrell, ether internall or externall. I thanck yow evermore for the good, and what cannot be effected, farewell hit! If wee cannot have what we would, methincks it is a great bonde to finde a frinde that will strayne hyme sealf in his frind's cause in whatsoever,—as this world fareth.

Wemouth, this 21 of August [1602].

[SECOND POSTSCRIPT.]—GILBERT went without my leve, and therfore *all* is confiscate; and he shall have his part agayne.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritorye, &c.*

Endorsed:

1602. *August* 21. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master.*

## CXI.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers, 1602; formerly numbered '174.' (**Rolls House.**) Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER CXI.

1602. Sept. 15.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Bath.

SIR,

I RECEVED thes inclosed from my levetenant this present morninge, and have dispatched the bearer which came from Jersey unto yow. It seemes to be trew. All that cann be don is to lay for them carefully, and thoughe the galles slipp by the shore, the flibotts cannot. They speak of galleasses, butt I understand it not. I am at

LETTER CXI.
1602. Sept. 15.

News of the Spanish Fleet, sent from Jersey.

this instant in payne and cannot writ miche. I beseiche you be good to this poore man that hath taken paynes and cume with speed in his own barck.

Your's as your sarvent,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I beseich you remember me to my Lord COBHAME.

Bath, the xvth [September, 1602].

Addressed:

*For Her Majesties especiall service. To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Principall Secritorye to Her Majestye, &c.* Hast, post, hast. Hast for life. W. RALEGH.

Bathe, the 15 of September, att after nowne.

Endorsed:

1602. *September xv. Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. With some advertisements from Jersey.*

[*ENCLOSURE IN LETTER CXI.*]

SIR G. POULET TO SIR W. RALEGH.

IT maye please your Honor to receave here enclosed a letter sent from a Englysh gentleman lying at Rhenes,[1] certyfying the arryvall of the Spannysh galleys at Blauett, which advyse being of great importance I have thought yt my dewtye with all hast possybell to acquaint your Lordship therewith; and to that purpose have dyspatched this bearer, PHYLLYP ROCKYER, purposely unto you, with expresse charge to use all dyllygence possybell, which I dowt not but he wyll performe. And yet, fearing what may happen, I doo send the licke packet by JOHN CROSSE in another passage. And whereas Mr. HOWRYLL's letter maketh mensyon of a letter to Mr. Secretarye, the same ys not come to my hands. This letter came by the waye of St. Malloos this mornyng. From whence, beleeke, the letter for Mr. Secretarye ys sent dyrectlye. And so, wyshing that these advertysements may have a speedy passage unto your Honour, I wyll humbly take my leave. Jersey, the xiiith of September, 1602.

Your Honour's in all dewtye to command,

G. POULET.

Addressed:

*To his honorable Gouernour, Sir* WALTER RALEGH, *Knyght, Lord Warden of the Stannerys, Captayn of Her Majesties Gard, and Governour of Jersey.* Hast, &c.

[1] Rennes, in Brittany.

## CXII.

### TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* Elizabeth. Unarranged Papers. (**Rolls House.**) Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER CXII.

1602? Oct. 14.

To Lord Cobham From Sherborne.

Greetings. —Ralegh is about to go into Cornwall.

MY BEST LORDE,

I DO only write yow thes to salute yow, and to desire to here from yow how your particular, and our generall, worlde movethe; and withall that yow will vouchsafe to lett me know how the Queen accepted the jewell. For the littell comonwealth whence I came, I will leve to trobell your Lordship withall till God send us to meet. I am now preparing my miserable jurney into Cornwall. From thence I will hast towards yow, and elcewher I will ever remayne

Your most trew frinde and sarvent,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—BESS[1] remembers herself to your Lordship, with a challendg that shee never hard from yow. I beseich your Lordship to favor this poore man, who is worthy estimation.

Sherborne, this 14th of October [1602?].

Addressed:

*To my honorable good Lord, the Lord* COBHAM, *Lord Warden of the Cinque Portes.*

Lady Ralegh.

## CXIII.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C, b ii. § 102 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date of year.

LETTER. CXIII. — 1602. Nov. 3. To Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne. Regulation of the Mines of Cornwall. —Detention by private affairs at Sherborne.

SIR,

SINCE I wrate unto yow, out of Cornwale, of the agreement with the Tynners, I have not hard from yow. I miche desire to know how our labors ar accepted of, and how the world farethe.

I linger here as longe as I cann, to dispach my private affaires; except ther be cause to hasten me up. I will herein be directed by yow, and in all things elce disposed att your pleasure. I can write yow from hence no other newse, butt that we ar all—littell and great—in good health, and ever yours faythfully to cummande wherinsoever,

W. RALEGH.

Sherburne, the 3 of November [1602].

## CXIV.

### TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcvii. § 104 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXIV. — 1602. To Sir R. Cecil. From the Court? Business of the Wine Office.—

SIR,

I HAVE perswaded all the poore Taverners of Inglande that I would not depart the Court until they were assured to injoy their estates and free them from the Promoter. If I shalbe sent away[1] before it be finished, I shall not only be thought a cussener; butt, in my absence, I know ther wilbe a thowsand famylies at

[1] *I.e.* be sent to his government of Jersey.

LETTER CXIV.
1602.
The Queen's disfavour.

the Court. The matter is nothinge to her Majestye. Shee that hath justified all her actions, words, and intents, to all the yearth, will not finde me out to make example of the contrary. The Queen may take advantage of the acts of her awncestors; but neather prince nor private man denieth hyme sealf. Her Majestye used this grace to Sir HENRY LEG for £400 lande, and yet not of her Majesties gift.

It greves mee to find with what difficulty and torment to my sealf I obtayne the smalest favor. Her Majestye knowes that I am reddy to spend all I have, and my life, for her in a day; and that I have but the keping of that I have. For all I have I will sell for her in an howre, and spend it in her service.

Lett the Queen, then, break their harts that ar none of her's. Ther is littell gayne in losinge her own. Thes things should not torment mee if I were as other ar. But it is trew,—'*Ubi dolor, ibi amor; exue amorem.*'

Wheras it pleaseth her Majesty to promis to do it hereafter, although it may be certayne that '*Miser est qui ex futuris pendet,*' yet I protest, before God, for my sealf I never care to have it other wize. Butt I cannot live, nor shew my face out of my doores, without it, nor dare ride thorrow the townes wher thes Tavernerss dwell.

I beseich yow to offre it. I hope her Majestye will not refuse it; or thinck it a gayne to send mee away hartbroken and disgraced.[1] Your's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secritorye, &c.*"

Endorsed, in Sir Robert Cecil's hand: "*Sir Walter Ralegh;*" and, in another hand, "*To my Master.* 1602."

[1] I am, at present, unable to explain the precise suit to which this letter on the business of the Wine-licensing Patent directly relates. It is probable

## CXV.

### TO THE QUEEN.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxiii. § 35 (Hatfield). Holograph.

*** The scription of this letter, like its style, bears the characteristic marks and stamp of Ralegh; but its extreme precision and neatness of hand—so entirely unusual with the writer at this period of his life—are such as might excite at least a momentary misgiving as to its genuineness. They appear, at the first glance, to exceed that natural amount of care and deliberation which would mark a courtly subject's deference to his Sovereign. On the whole, however, there seems to be no ground for questioning its authenticity, as an original letter in Sir Walter's autograph.

In subsequent years, careful—almost elaborated—penmanship became characteristic of Ralegh's letters, whenever the subject was important. I regret that I am not, at present, able to put before the reader a fac-simile of this later style of scription, as well as of those early scrawls of which he has already seen a specimen in the Letter to the Earl of Leicester, of October 1587.

that some technical irregularity in the terms of the Patent had been discovered, and that an attempt had been made—during Ralegh's passing cloud of disfavour with the Queen—to injure him, and, through him, the "poor Taverners" or Vintners, by disturbing in some way the licences he had granted. [See the Letter of the Solicitor-General Egerton, quoted above, p. 41.] It would also appear that the thing proposed to be done was expected, in some degree, to benefit the Queen's Exchequer; and of course it was also expected not to injure that of the promoters, who—under such circumstances—would much rather have heard of Ralegh's banishment to his command at Jersey than have continued to see him at Court.

LETTER CXV.

[1602?]

To Queen Elizabeth.

On proposals for the declaration of a Successor to the Crown.—Regrets at his exclusion from the Queen's presence.

I PRESUMED to present your Majestye with a paper, contayninge the dangers which might groe by the Spanish faction in Skotland. How it pleased your Majesty to accept therof I know not. I have since harde that divers ill-disposed have a purpose to speak of Succession. If the same be suppresst, I am gladd of it; yet, fearinge the worst, I sett down sume reasons to prove the motive meerly vayne, dangerus, and unnescessarye. And because I durst not my sealf speak, in any matter, without warrant, I have sent your Majestye thes arguments, which may perchance put others in minde of sumewhat not impertinent; and who, beinge graced by your Majesties favor, may, if need require, use them amonge others more worthy. Without glory I speake it, that I durst ether by writinge or speach satisfye the worlde in that poynct, and in every part of their foolish consaytes which, for shortnes of time, I could not so amplely insert. This beinge, after one hour's warninge, but one houre's worke, I humblie beseich your Majestye not to acquaynt any withall, unles occasion be offred to use them.

Your Majestye may, perchance, speake hereof to thos seeminge my great frinds, but I finde poore effects of that or any other supposed ametye. For, your Majesty havinge left mee, I am left all alone in the worlde, and am sorry that ever I was att all. What I have donn is out of zeale and love, and not by any incoragement: for I am only forgotten in all rights, and in all affaires; and myne enemis have their wills and desires over mee. Ther ar many other things concerninge your Majesty's present service, which, meethincks, are not, as the[1] ought, remembred; and the

[1] *they.*

LETTER CXV.
[1602?]

tymes pass away, unmesured, of which more profitt might be taken. But I feare I have alreddy presumed to[1] mich, which Love stronger then Reason hath incoraged; for my errors ar eternal, and those of other mortall, and my labors thanckless, I mean unacceptable, for thancks belongeth not to vassalls. If your Majestye pardon it, it is more then to[1] great a rewarde. And so most humblie imbracing and admiringe the memory of thos celestial bewtyes, which with the people is denied mee to revew, I pray God your Majestie may be eternall in joyes and happines.

Your Majesty's most humble slave,

W. R.

Addressed: "*For the Queen's most excelent Majestye.*"

## CXVI.

## TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxxvi. § 132 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXVI.
[1600?]
To Sir R. Cecil.
Embarkation of the Duke Orsini.

SIR,

THER came unto mee a gentelman from Flushing who saw the Duke DON VIRGINIA[2] URSINI ther. It is trew that hee was imbarked in a Fleminge att Dovor; the winde not servinge for her Majesties shipp to cum about.

Now wher[3] this Zelander did carry hyme thither perforce, or whether hee desired it, hearing of the Peace of

[1] *too.* [2] So in MS. [3] *whether.*

LETTER CXVI. [1600?]

Savoy, I know not. For I remember hee told me that hee would see Holland and Zeland, if that peace weare concluded. How hee shalbe welcume to the Archduke I conceve not. I thought good to lett yow know this miche.[1]

Your's to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorabell Mr. Secritorye.*"

Endorsed: "*Sir Walter Ralegh to my Master.*"

[1] I am unable conclusively to identify the "Virginio Orsini," here spoken of. Probably, he was the same Italian nobleman who is mentioned by De Thou (*Historia sui Temporis*, under A.D. 1591), as leading a crusade against bandits in the States of the Church, but there is no proof. In the careful index of De Thou's French translators (edit. of 1734), that nobleman is entered as Virginio degli Orsini, 'son of the Marquess of Lamentano,' but nothing can safely be inferred from Ralegh's use of the title 'Duke.' I do not think that Virginio degli Orsini occurs in De Thou after 1591.

Ralegh's allusion to "the Peace of Savoy" I had overlooked. It shows that this letter should have been placed at the end of the letters of '1600,' not of '1602.' The treaty between Henry IV. and Charles Emanuel of Savoy (by which either the marquisate of Saluzzo, or the territory of Bresse with large appurtenances, was to be ceded by Savoy to France), was concluded at Paris on the 27th of February, 1600.

1603.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXVII. — *RALEGH AND THE LONDON PALACE OF THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXVII. 1603.

DURHAM HOUSE, to the surrender of which by Sir Walter Ralegh the following letter relates, was built to be the mansion of the Bishops of Durham during their attendance in Parliament, by Thomas de Hatfield, who had served King Edward the Third as his Secretary, and filled the See of Durham from the year 1345 until 1381. The building appears to have been commenced soon after this Bishop's consecration. It continued to be the town residence of the Bishops of Durham until nearly the close of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, when Bishop Cuthbert Tonstal had to resign it to the King, in the form of an 'exchange'—after the fashion of the times. By Edward the Sixth it was given to the Princess Elizabeth for her life. During Mary's reign, Tonstal recovered Durham House as well as his dissolved bishopric, but he was again deprived of both on Elizabeth's accession. In 1562, De Quadra, the Spanish ambassador whom Mr. Froude has made famous, lived here; and hence were written some of his very curious contributions towards our English history. Other temporary residents inhabited the old mansion, from time to time, by the Queen's favour. In 1584, she granted a lease of the greater part of it to Sir Walter Ralegh. It appears by a letter from Lady Ralegh to Sir Robert Cecil, written long subsequently, that Sir Walter expended a considerable sum upon its reparation, notwithstanding the insecurity of his tenure.

The original mansion was very large, and with its courtyards and various outbuildings covered nearly the whole site of the present Adelphi Terrace and of the streets between it and the Strand, one of which still bears the name 'Durham Yard.'

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXVII.

1603.

Immediately on King James' accession, Bishop Tobias Matthew claimed the house of his ancient predecessors in the See, and within a few days of the King's arrival at Greenwich obtained a royal warrant in the following terms :—

"*To our trusty and well beloved Counsellors, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seale, &c.*

JAMES R.—Right trusty and well beloved Counsellors, we greet you well. Forasmuch as upon examination before you of the matter between the Bishop of Duresme and those that now dwell in his house, touching the right of the House called *Duresme Place*, it appeareth that neither the said dwellers have any right therein, nor we, whome they sought to entytle to it; and that thereof we are certyfied by you, we think it reasonable the said Bishop should have quiet possession of his house. Wherefore we require you to give order to our Attorny Generall, or some other of our learned Counsell, to give warning and commandment in our name to Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, and Sir Edward Darcy, to delyver quyet possession of the said house to the said Bishop of Duresme, or to such as he shall appoint to receave it in his name. And that they and all others there abyding do, within such tyme as you shall think good to lymit, avoid the house, removing thence themselves and all their goods within that tyme which you shall appoint, with indifferent consideration as well of the Bishop's necessary use of the place as also of their convenyency for removing from thence. Gyven under our Sygnet at our Manor of Greenwich, the last day of May, 1603, in the first yeare of our rayne."

The Bishop, as it seems, was prevented from attending the Commissioners, in person, and wrote to the Lord Keeper a letter, of which the following is a copy :—

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1603.

"*To the Rt. Hon. my very good Lord, Sir* THOMAS EGERTON, *Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seale of England.*

MAIE IT PLEASE YOUR GOOD LORDSHIP,

Whereas yesterdaie morning, when I should have attended your Lordship, and the rest of his Majesties Commissioners, for the possession of my house in the Strand, I received a message from his Highness, by Sir Roger Ashton and Mr. Hudson, that it was his Majesties good pleasure and direction that I should forthwith repaire to the Queene our Sovreigne, and give myne attendance on her Highness in her journey from Duresme to the Court (which his Majestye would vouchsafe to take in very good part of his princely benignitie), I had no tyme to take my leave of your Lordship, being the same afternoone to depart the Cittie northward, much lesse to solicite your Lordship and the rest as aforesaid. Wherein as necessitie itself will, I trust, pleade myne excuse, notwithstanding I thought meete to acquaint your Lordship with this sodaine occasion of my absence, and to intreate thate this bearer, my servant Francis Berty, maie have accesse to your good Lordship to receive your honorable and favorable answer, togeather with the possession of that house to my use with what celeritie conveniently may be graunted; the supposed tenaunts seeking nothing els but to gaine tyme to deface the house more then is justyfiable by lawe, or to shuffle in some noble or otherwise gracious person thereinto (yf not moe then one), whome to remove it may be harder for me than I am willing to assaie. I heare that Sir Walter Raleigh doth earnestly labour to contynue his habitation there untill Michaelmas, a desyne nothing reasonable, considering that thereby the commoditie of the summer will be lost, a tyme most fit for me to repaire the delapidations and decayes which he by so many yeres space hath made or

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suffered, and which I would forthwith sett in hande with all my workmen of all sorts, whatsoever it cost me.

Humbly beseaching your Lordship that, as hitherto, so to the ende of this my suite, I maie finde your especiall favour, whereupon I depende, and must acknowledge the same with all dutie and thankfulnes at my returne at her Majesties repaire to London. By which tyme all these wranglers maie have removed their stuffe, especially sithe they were not ignorant that none but myself could clayme any just title, interest, or occupation, and that I had made the same known unto them all before Easter last, which they cannot denie.

Thus being sorie but that there is no remedie to be so troublesome to your Lordship, I humbly take my leave.

At Ware, this vijth of June, 1603.

Your Lordship's humble, bounden and assured,
more and more to be commanded,
TOBIE DURESME."

The Bishop was very timely—as it proved—in his application. He had taken advantage of his northern proximity to be among the first to welcome King James on his crossing the border, and he obtained permission to preach a congratulatory sermon before him at Berwick. James, probably, knew nothing of the very unfavourable view of his own character which the now courtly Bishop had formed and expressed in bygone years. As recently as in 1594, Matthew had written to Lord Burghley that King James "is a deeper dissembler than is thought possible for his years." "I pray God," he adds, "the King's protestations be not too well believed." This deprecation grew out of a then-pending negotiation between Queen Elizabeth and the King of Scots touching the 'protection' of that Scottish exile, Lord Bothwell,[1] who is mentioned,

[1] See Prefatory Note to Letter XCV.

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1603.

so significantly, in Ralegh's letter to Cecil on the treatment of the Earl of Essex in 1600. The Bishop, it is plain, had now, in some degree, made a favourable impression on James, and his present request came on the eve of Ralegh's fatal implication in some of the schemes of Cobham—whatever may have been their real object or extent.

The Bishop won his suit. But his direct interest in Durham House was to be brief. I doubt that he himself lived in it for more than a few weeks. And within three years, he was transferred to the Archbishopric of York. There, he found occasion and motive to do with the London mansion of the Archbishops of York precisely—but under aggravated circumstances—what, in 1603, he condemned Queen Elizabeth for having done with its near neighbour, that of the Bishops of Durham. He alienated it from the See (of course, under the illusive form of an 'exchange') to the King's all-powerful favourite, the Duke of Buckingham. Nor were his dealings with Durham House itself during his short tenure much to the credit of his honesty.

A well-known apophthegm has kept alive the memory of Bishop Matthew's domestic infelicities:—"One of my sons has wit and no grace; the other, grace but no wit; and the third has neither grace nor wit." The scapegrace first named in this pleasant trio proved his wit by getting, in some way or other, from his father—with whom, nevertheless, he was almost always at variance—an interest in certain outlying portions of Durham House and its purlieus which was valuable enough to be purchased by Robert Cecil (by that time Earl of Salisbury), in the year following the Bishop's translation to York, for the sum of 1200*l.*[1] The plunder of the Church, and of its pastors, went on—in substance—just as prosperously under James as it had done under Elizabeth. But it then became the fashion to cloke the theft with somewhat of outward sanctimoniousness in phrase and profession,—a disguise which before had commonly been deemed superfluous. Two years

[1] T. Matthew to E. of Salisbury; in *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxx. f. 94 (Hatfield).

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1603.

after his purchase, Lord Salisbury obtained, from Bishop Matthew's successor, a lease of the "courtyard of Durham House." Bishop James, on this occasion, spends no time in useless remonstrance, but, with the simple rhetoric of cumulative figures, sums up to the Lord Treasurer[1] the onerous deductions claimed from the revenues of Durham—for very secular purposes—under the rule of the royal theologian. The total, thus stated, is certainly expressive.

Not the least curious incident in the history of 'Durham House' is the fact that its temporary restoration to the ancient owners was contemplated by Sir Robert Cecil, before the Queen's death. He it was who instigated the application by Bishop Matthew, and who paved the way for its success.[2] Whatever else had happened to Sir Walter Ralegh, on the accession of King James, there had been a foregone determination that he should lose his town residence. When part of the outbuildings had been burnt—in the October of 1600—Lady Ralegh had written to Sir Robert: "It is time for you to get an interest in this rotten house." The context suggests—but it is suggestion only—the probability that there had already been some talk between Ralegh and Cecil about the subtraction of a part of the large purlieus of the old episcopal palace,—either as an addition to Cecil's own house and grounds, or for some ulterior purpose. Whether or not Sir Robert had, at that date, formed his plan of building a vast bazaar or 'exchange' on the site, there is nothing, I think, to show. The first idea of such a novel scheme would seem more consonant with Ralegh's mind than with Cecil's. Be that as it may, the 'NEW EXCHANGE'—so often mentioned in the dramas and other popular literature of the Stuart reigns—rose, eventually, on the site of the offices belonging to Durham House.

[1] William James, Bishop of Durham, to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, June, 1609; *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxvii. f. 83 (Hatfield).

[2] Letter of Bishop Matthew, written from Berwick, 7 April, 1603; *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcix. § 98 (Hatfield).

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1603.

Sir Robert Cecil's innovation was eagerly welcomed by expectant occupiers of the shops and stalls, who besieged him with applications to become his tenants there; and it was just as eagerly opposed by the established traders of the City. The Corporation of London tried to induce the powerful minister of James to abandon his purpose. In his reply to the Lord Mayor, Cecil protested his strong affection to the citizens,—whom he had loved, he said, from his cradle by an hereditary obligation. No man, he told them, could in his opinion be a good servant to the King "that should go about to weaken London;" adding, "If I labour against London, I labour against my own thoughts and affections." But, then (he reminded the Londoners), their old neighbour, Westminster, had also claims upon him and them. The Londoners, he thought, "should be contented to contribute some small portion of commodity for such a neighbour, even though it were drawn directly from themselves,"—a condition which he was scarcely inclined to admit. "I have now found," he continued, "this opportunity to leave unto the inhabitants and unto posterity some such monument as may adorn the place, and haply derive some effect of present benefit and future charity to the whole Liberty."[1]

During the occupancy of Salisbury House by the second Earl, its new neighbour the 'Exchange' attracted, for a few weeks, almost universal attention. Its name was on men's lips, both at home and abroad. One day, it was the scene of the wanton murder committed on an inoffensive bystander by the Portuguese Ambassador's brother, Don Pantaleon de Sa. On another day, it was the scene of the execution—before a crowd such as London had then rarely collected, and with circumstances of unusual parade—of the offender, a few hours before the signature of Cromwell's treaty with Portugal.

A century later, there remained of the old episcopal mansion

[1] Earl of Salisbury to the Lord Mayor of London, 10 July, 1608. (Draft, with numerous corrections in Lord Salisbury's hand; *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxcv. §§ 26, 30. Hatfield.)

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXVII. —— 1603.

itself only a ruined river-front; and, behind it, a confused mass of sheds and vaults, with a tottering house or two. Where mediæval bishops and Tudor statesmen had once dwelt in splendour, the outcasts and roughs of London found a squalid shelter. But, presently, the stately buildings of the 'Adelphi' rose on the site of Durham House. On the spot where Ralegh had sat in council,—at one time with Essex and Cecil; at another, with Cobham and Northumberland,—David Garrick dispensed his gay hospitalities to the poets, wits, and scholars, and to the miscellaneous crowd of 'men about town,' of the early years of King George the Third. Now,—in 1867,—new changes are in rapid progress which will make it as hard a task, by and by, to find traces of the home of Garrick as of the home of Ralegh.

## CXVII.

## TO THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY KING JAMES TO INQUIRE INTO THE TENURE OF DURHAM HOUSE.

As printed from the Original, in the Collection of the EARL of ELLESMERE, by Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER; *Egerton Papers* (Camden Society's Series).

LETTER CXVII. —— 1603. May.

To the Lord Keeper Egerton, and others

I RECEVED a warrant from your Lordshippes, my Lord Keeper and my Lorde Chiefe Justice, and signed also by Mr. Aturney Generall, requireinge me to deliver the possession of Deram Howse to the Byshop of Derum, or to his aturney, before the xxiiij$^{th}$ day of June next insewinge, and that the stabells and garden should be presently putt into his hands; and that I should not remove any selinge, glass, iron, &c. without warrant from your Lordships or any two of you. This letter semeth

LETTER CXVII.
13 1603. May.

Claim made for the delivery of Durham House to the Bishop of Durham.

to mee very strange, seinge I have had possession of the howse almost xx yearese, and have bestowed well nire £2,000 uppon the same out of myne own purse. I am of oppinion that if the Kings Majestye had recovered this howse, or the like, from the meanest gentleman and sarvant hee had in Inglande, that his Majestye would have given six monethes tyme for the avoydance, and I do not know butt that the poorest artificer in London hath a quarter's warninge given hyme by his land lord. I have made my provisions for 40 persons in the springe, and I have a .....[1] of no less number .....[1] and the like for allmost xx horse. Now to cast out my hay and oates into the streats, att an howeres warninge, and to remove my famyly and stuff in 14 dayes after, is such a seveare expultion as hath not bynn offred to any man before this daye. But this I would have written to any that had not bynn of your Lordships plase and respect, that the course taken with mee is both contrary to honor, to custome, and to civillity, and therefore I pray your Lordships to pardon me till I have acquaynted the Kings Majestye with this letter; and then, if his Majestye shall thinck it reasonabell, I will obey it. But for the commandment sent mee for the wenscote and other things, I do not finde that it pleased his Majestye to give your Lordships any suche direction, and if I do any thing contrary to law the Byshope may take his remedy, and I percave cannot want good frindes. And so I humblie take my leve, and rest your Lordships to cummande,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorabell my good Lords, the Lorde Keeper of the Great Seale, and my Lorde Chief Justice of Inglande, and to my very good frinde his Majesties Atturney Generall.*"

[1] Blank in MS.

## CXVIII.

### TO THE EARLS OF NOTTINGHAM, SUFFOLK, AND DEVONSHIRE, AND TO THE LORD CECIL, LORDS OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, AND COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXAMINATION AND TRIAL OF THE ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS OF 1603.

As printed in Ralegh's collective *Works*.

LETTER CXVIII.

1603. August.

To the Lords Commissioners appointed to examine into the alleged conspiracies against the King.

I DO not know whether your Lordships have seen my answers to all the matters which my Lord HENRY HOWARD, my Lord WOTTON, and Sir EDWARD COOKE have examined me on, upon Saturday the 14th of this present, which makes me bold to write unto your Lordships at this time: the two principal accusations being these; the first, that money was offered me, with a pretence to maintain the amity; but the intent was to have assisted his Majesty's Surprise: the other, that I was privy to my Lord COBHAM'S Spanish journey.

Denial of the charges brought against him.—Origin of Cobham's accusation.

For the first, I beseech your Lordships to weigh it seriously, before there be any further proceedings; for to leave me to the cruelty of the law of England, and to that *summum jus*, before both your understandings and consciences be thoroughly informed, were but carelessly to destroy the father and fatherless; and you may be assured that there is no glory, nor any reward, that can recompense the shedding of innocent blood.

And whereas it seemeth to appear that this money was offered to others long after it was offered to me, and upon some other considerations than it was unto me; for myself, I avow, upon my allegiance, that I

LETTER CXVIII.
1603. August.

never either knew or suspected either the man or the new intention.

To me it was but once propounded, and in three weeks after I never heard more of it; neither did I believe it, that he had any commission to offer it, as the everlasting God doth witness. For, if that word '*amity*' had been used to me colourably, I must have been also made acquainted with the true end for which it should have been given, which it seemeth was for the Surprise; but of any such horrible and fearful purpose if ever I had so much as a suspicion, I refuse your Lordships' favours and the King's mercy.

I know that your Lordships have omitted nothing to find out the truth hereof. But as you have not erred, like ill surgeons, to pay on plaisters too narrow for so great wounds, so I trust that you will not imitate unlearned physicians, to give medicines more cruel than the disease itself.

For the journey into Spain, I know that I was accused to be privy thereunto; but I know your Lordships have a reputation of conscience, as well as of industry. By what means that revengeful accusation was stirred, you, my Lord CECIL, know right well, that it was my letter about KEMISH; and your Lordships all know whether it be maintained; or whether, out of truth and out of a Christian consideration, it be revoked. I know that to have spoken it once is enough for the law, if we lived under a cruel Prince: but I know that the King is too merciful to have or suffer his subjects to be ruined by any quick or unchristian advantage, unless he be resolved, or can persuade his religious heart, of the equity: I know that the King thinks (with all good princes) *satius est peccare in alteram partem.* God doth know, and I can give an account of it, that I have spent forty thousand

LETTER CXVIII.
1603. August.

pounds of mine own against that King and nation; that I never reserved so much of all my fortune as to purchase forty pounds *per ann.* land; that I have been a violent persecutor and furtherer of all enterprises against that nation. I have served against them in person; and how, my Lord Admiral and my Lord of SUFFOLK can witness. I discovered, myself, the richest part of all his Indies: I have planted in his territories: I offered his Majesty, at my uncle CAREW'S, to carry two thousand men to invade him, without the King's charge. Alas! to what end should we live in the world, if all the endeavours of so many testimonies shall be blown off with one blast of breath, or be prevented by one man's word; and in this time when we have a generous Prince, from whom to purchase honour and good opinion I had no other hope but by undertaking upon that cruel and insolent nation. Think therefore, I most humbly beseech you, on my great affliction with compassion, who have lost my estate and the King's favour upon one man's word; and as you would that God should deal with you, deal with me. You all know that the law of England hath need of a merciful Prince; and if you put me to shame, you take from me all hope ever to receive his Majesty's least grace again. I beseech you to be resolved of those things of which I am accused, and distinguish me from others. As you have true honour, and as you would yourselves be used in the like, forget all particular mistakes; '*multos clementia honestavit, ultio nullum.*' Your Lordships know that I am guiltless of the 'Surprise' intended. Your Lordships know, or may know, that I never accepted of the money, and that it was not offered me for any ill. And of the Spanish journey I trust your consciences are resolved. Keep not then, I beseech you, these my answers and humble

LETTER CXVIII. 1603. August.

desires from my sovereign lord, '*qui est rex pius et misericors, et non leo coronatus.*' Thus humbly beseeching your Lordships to have a merciful regard of me, I rest,

Your Lordships' humble and miserable suppliant,

W. RALEGH.

## CXIX.

### TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE, THE LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON, LORD HENRY HOWARD (AFTERWARDS EARL OF NORTHAMPTON), AND THE LORD WOTTON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 25 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXIX. 1603. [October ?]

To the Lords Commissioners the Earls of Suffolk and Devonshire, and others. [From the Tower.]

Answer to a new accusation made by Cobham.—

IT was so late er your Lordships came, as I could not, in good manners, beseich yow of longer tyme. It was your pleasures to tell me of a new accusation—of the landing of Spanierds att Milford Haven. I beseich yow, for the love of God, as your Lordships will looke ether for mercy or justice at God's hands, to consider and way the likelode hereof; and trewly and charitablie to thinck butt of this one circumstance: First, I was accused to have perswaded the Lord COBHAME to have gon into Spayn, and to have brought mee 600,000 crowns to Jersey. I was strongly suspected that the mony offred mee for the *Peace* was for the *Surprize*, or for some other ill intent. The first accusation—for which I was cummitted, indyted, and arreyned—your Lordships do know to be falce, and yet it was by your Lordships most constantly beleved. And my Lord Cheif Justice avowed

LETTER CXIX.

1603. [October?]

Protest against the unfairness of the mode of examination.—Contrasts between God's law and English law.

that it could not be otherwize, because the Lord COBHAME accused hyme sealf, also, therin.

*Then*, my Lords, if I had perished therfore,[1] yow all finde that I had perished innocent; and that the presumption of the mony was also inferred agaynst mee, and would have strenghtned my condemnation; *and yet neather trew.* And, for a third: The letter delevered by RENSEY[2] in my presence—being unknown to be the Count ARRAMBERGH'S by mee—was yet a third presomption agaynst mee. But now for this other.

I do beseich yow, for His sake that shedd His bloud for us, do thinck of this one argument: Your Lordships see that from the beginninge that[3] the Lord COBHAME hath had a crewell deseir to destroy mee; hoping therby to extenuate his owne offences. How he hath bynn therto perswaded, I have seene. Hyme sealf sent me the letter. And, if this matter of Milford had bynn trew, what needed the Lord COBHAME have invented a treason agaynst me which was not trew?

Secondly, It had been easier to have remembered that which was, then that which was not.

And, thirdly, In this accusation, he might have indangered me, and spared hyme sealf. And this was also as great a treason as the other; and this—if it had bynn trew—he might have justefied, and bynn confident therin.

Thes considered, good my Lords, judg as yow would be judged. And remember his letter which he ment no creature should see but mysealf. A man can have butt one sowle, and one faythe. And therfore, if your Lordships will every day receave new inventions against mee, then it is veyne for mee to contend.

[1] 'therfore,' *i. e.* '*on that charge.*'

[2] Matthew La Renzi or Laurenci? See Vol. I., chap. xvii.

[3] '*that*'—so repeated in MS.

LETTER CXIX. — 1603. [October ?]

Your Lordships also saw that the night *before my arraynment he spake not a word of this;*[1] when he then studied all he could to distroy me. It was not therfore without cause that the most wize and mercifull God gave thes cummandments touchinge the sheding of bludd; and His lawes are the trew lawes to Christian men and Christian kings. God sayd, in the 35 of Numbers:—'*Non poterit testis unus testari contra aliquem ut moriatur.*' God renewed His cummandment, in the 17 and 19 of Detronomy: '*Ex sermone duorum aut trium testium morte afficitur is qui meritur, nec morte afficitur ex sermone testius unius.*' And agayne: '*Ne surgite testis unius in quenquam pro ulla iniquitate aut pro ullo peccato ex omnibus peccatis quibus quis peccat.*' The same also is confirmed by Christ in Matthew[2] and in John.[3] And as St. Augustine sayes: '*Non divina humanis sed humana divinis sunt judicanda.*' And, good my Lords, beleve, '*Nemo potest melius, aut aliud, fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus.*'[4]

But the law is past agaynst mee. The mercy of my Soverayne is all that remaynethe for my cumfort. And I know that this law of God wilbe an argument of remorce to my Soverayne Lorde, howsoever mens lawes take place.

And I desire your Lordships, for the mercy of God not to doubt to move so mercifull a prince to cumpassion; and that the extremety of all extremeties be not layd on mee. Lett the offence be esteemed as your Lordships shall pleas in charety to beleve it and valew it, yet it is butt the first offence; and my service to my country, and my love so many years to my supreme

[1] Here the MS. looks as if the writer himself had underlined the words; but as many sentences in these Letters have been underlined at Hatfield, I mention the fact with some doubt.

[2] Matt. xviii. 16. [3] John viii. 17. [4] 1 Cor. iii. 11.

LETTER CXIX.
1603.
[October ?]

Lord, I trust may move so great and good a Kinge, who was never estemed cruell; and I trust will never prove so to be.

And, if I may not begg a pardon or a life, yet lett me begg a tyme at the King's mercifull hands. Lett me have one yeare to geve to God in a prison and to serve Hyme. I trust his pitifull nature will have cumpassion on my sowle; and it is my sowle that beggeth a tyme of the Kinge.

Ther is no prejudice cum to the Kinge, nor never could any prejudice have cum, by that supposed horid intent, which the Lord of Heven knowes I never imagined. And if the Kinge, my mercifull Lord, pleas to withdrawe all his grace from me, it must be the last breathe that I shall draw in the worlde that I dy his trew vassall, that have,[1] and do love, his very person. Although, I must confess yt, I am most worthy of this hevy affliction for the neglect of my dewty in geving eare to sume things, and in taking on me to harken to the offer of mony. Butt his mercy, I trust, is greater. And the Lord, that hath made hyme a lord of many nations, will incline his royall hart.

I beseich your Lordships, as ever yow tendred the sorrowes of a penetent hart, that yow will present thes unto his Majesties knowledg, and afford me your favors for grace and cumpassion.

Your Lordships' most humblie,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell my singuler good Lords, the Earles of* SUFFOLKE *and* DEVON, *the Lorde* CECILL, *the Lord* HENRY HOWARD, *and the Lorde* WUTTON.

Endorsed, in the hand of Sir R. Cecil: "*Sir Walter Ralegh.*"

[1] So in original: '*loved*' omitted.

## CXX.

### TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 67, B (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXX.

1603. [November?]

To Lord Cecil. [From Winchester.]

Assertion of the injustice of his arraignment of treason.—Entreaty for Cecil's intercession, with the King, should he fall within the meshes of the law.

SIR,

TO speake of former tymes, it were needles. Your Lordshipe knowes what I have byn towards your sealf, and how long I have loved yow and have byn favoured by yow; but chang of tymes and myne own errors have worren out thos remembrances (I fearc), and if ought did remayn, yet in the state wherin I stand ther can be no frindshipe; cumpassion ther may be, for it is never seperat from honor and vertu.

If the poure of law be not greater then the poure of trewth, I may justly beseich yow to releve me in this my affliction. If it be, then your Lordship shall have cause (as a just man) to bewayle my undeserved miserabell estate. I cannot dispaire but that sume warmth remayneth in cynders to move yow to the first. To the secound, I may assure my sealf that even God Hym sealf and your Lordship's love to justice will parswade yow.

Your Lordship knowes my accusor; and have ever known my affection to that nation for which I am accused. A hevy burden of God to be in danger of perishinge for a Prince which I have so longe hated, and to suffer thes miseres under a Prince whom I have so long loved.

Sir, what mallice may do agaynst me, I know not. My cause hath byn handled by strong enemysc. But if

LETTER CXX.
1603. [November?]

ever I so mich as suspected this practize layd to my charge, leve me to death; if the same by any equety shalbe proved agaynst me. And *equitas* is sayd to be '*Juris legitimi emendatio et justitiæ directio.*'

Your Lordship is now a counceler to a mercifull and just Kinge, if ever we had any. Yow have ever dealt, in matter of justice, as knowing no man's face; yet vouchsauf now so to use the powre which God and the King hath geven yow, as to defend me from undeserved crewelty. '*Potentia non est, nisi ad bonum.*' The law ought not to overrule piety, but piety the law. The law doth warrant all actions before men; but God hath sayde, '*Innocentem non interficies.*' Your Lordship hath known in your tyme one in this place condemned,—and in this place he perished,—who at the houre of his death receved the Sacriment that he was innocent. How therfore I shalbe judged, I know not. How I have deserved to be judged, I know; and I desire nothinge but '*secundum meritum meum.*'

If I should say unto the Kinge that my love so longe born hyme might hope for sume grace, it would perchance be taken for presumption, because he is a Kinge, and my Soveraygne. But as the Kinge is a trew gentelman, and a just man, besyds his being a Kinge, so he oweth unto me such a mercifull respect as the resolution most willingly to have hasarded my life and fortune for hyme agaynst all men may deserve.

For yoursealf, my Lord CECILL, and for me, sumtyme your trew frind, and now a miserabell forsaken man, I know that affections ar nether taught nor perswaded. But, if ought remayn of good, of love, or of cumpassion towards me, your Lordship will now shew it when I am now most unworthy of your love, and most unabell to deserve it. For even then is love, trew honor, and

LETTER CXX. 1603. [November?]

trew vertu expressed. And what I shall leve[1] to pay of so great a debt, God will perform to your Lordship and to yours.

Your Lordship's wreched poore frinde and sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Your Lordship will finde that I have bynn strangly practised agaynst, and that others have their lives promised to accuse me.

I can say no more, but beseich yow to use charety. '*Charitas est quædam participatio Spiritus Sancti.*'

Addressed: "*To the right honorabell the Lord* CECYLL, *&c.*"

Endorsed, in Lord Cecil's hand: "*Sir W. Ralegh.*"

## CXXI.

### TO THE KING.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 67 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date, and without superscription.

LETTER CXXI. 1603. [November?]

To King James. [From Winchester.]

Protest of the injustice of his conviction of treason.—Appeals to the King's justice and mercy.

MOST DREAD SOVERAYNE,

IT is on[2] part of the office of a just and worthy prince to here the cumplaynts of his vassalls—especially suche as ar in gretest missery. I know that, among many other presumtions gathered agaynst mee, your Majesty hath bynn parswaded that I was one of them who were gretly discontented, and therfore the more likely to be disloyall. But the great God so releive me and myne in both worlds, as I was the contrary; and as I tooke no greter cumfort then to behold your Majesty, and allways lerninge some good, and betteringe my knowledg by your Majesties discource.

[1] '*leave* to pay;' *i. e.* 'leave unpaid.' [2] *one.*

LETTER CXXI. 1603. [November?]

I do therfore most humblie beseich my soverayne Lord not to beleve any of thos, in my particuler, who, under pretence of offences to kings, doe easely work their particuler revenges. I trust that no man (under the culler of making examples) shall parswade your Majesty to leve the word 'mercifull' out of your stile; for it will noe less profite your Majesty, and becume your gretnes, than the word 'invincibell.'

It is true that the lawes of Ingland ar no less jelous of the Kinge, then CÆSAR was of POMPEIA, his wife; for, notwithstanding that she was clered of the accusation for CLAUDIUS, yett, for being suspected, he condemned her. For my sealf I protest, before the everlasting God, and I speak it to my master and soverayne, that I never invented treason, consented to treason, or parformed treason, against hyme; and yet I know that I shall fall '*in manus eorum a quibus non possum exsurgere*,' unless by your Majesties great cumpassion I be sustayned.

Our law therfore, most mercifull Prince, knowing her owne cruelty, and knoweing that she is wonnt to cumpound treasons out of presumtions and circumstances, doth geve this charetabell advice to the King her superior: '*Non solum enim sapiens debet esse rex, sed et misericors, ut cum sapientia misericorditer sit justus; cum tutius sit reddere rationem misericordiæ quam judicii.*'

I do therefore, on the knees of my hart, beseich your Majesty to take councell from your own sweet and mercifull disposition, and to remember that I have loved your Majesty now twenty yeares, for which your Majestie hath yett geven me no reward. And it is fitter that I should be indebted to my soverayne Lord, then the King to his poore vassall.

Save me, therfore, most mercifull Prince, that I may owe your Majesty my life itt sealf; then which ther

LETTER CXXI.

1603. [November?]

cannot bee a greter debt. Lend it me att lest, my soverayne Lord, that I may pay it agayne for your service when your Majesty shall pleas. If the law distroy me, your Majesty shall put me out of your poure; and I shall have then none to feare, none to reverence, but the King of kings.

Your Majesties most humble and penitent vassall,

W. R.

Endorsed, in Lord Cecil's hand: "*Sr W. R.*"

## CXXII.

### TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE, THE LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON, AND OTHERS, COMMISSIONERS FOR THE EXAMINATION AND TRIAL OF THE ALLEGED CONSPIRATORS OF 1603.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. 111, B (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXII.

[1603. December 10.]

To the Lords Commissioners the Earls of Suffolk and Devonshire, and others. [From Winchester.]

WE have this day beheld a worke of so great mercy, and for so great offences, as the like hath byne seldome if ever known; not after the manner of men, or of kings, '*sed cælestis judicis, eternique regis more.*' And although my sealf have not yet byn brought so nire the very brinck of the grave, yet I trust that so great a cumpassion will extend it sealf towards mee also,—every way being as hopeless as the rest, and who shall as trewly pay that most great debt of a borrowed life, as any that ever hath or ever shalbe therto bound. Only the memory of myne own unworthinis made mee to dispayre of so great grace,

LETTER CXXII.

[1603. December 10.]

The scene on the scaffold at Winchester Castle.—Entreaties for his life.—Cobham's confession and accusations.

who otherwize beheld Piety in the face, the voyce, the writinge, and life of my Soverayne.

I did fear that it would be sayde that I, beinge now poore, would live but a discontented life. But the Lord of Heaven doth know that, if it shall pleas my most good and gratious Lord the King to geve mee that poore life, that I shall as faythfully and thanckfully serve hyme, eating but bread and drinkinge water, as whosoever that hath receved even the greatest honor or the greatest profyte. For a greater gift none can geve, none receve, then life.

What the Lord COBHAME hath confest, and how mich it differeth from the receved oppinion, I leve to their reportts who know it. I will not in charety condemne his fayth; because he was nirer death, though not nirer the expectation, then I was. But will only, for this tyme, accuse his memory or mistakinge.

Good my Lords, do me this grace to beleve and vouchsaufe to say it for mee to my soverayne Lorde, that the loss of my estate (which I have deservedly lost) cannot make mee less faythfull or less lovinge his Estat and parson. For as I have to this day loved both his Estate and parson, so have I, in my prayers, besought God to inclyne his mercifull hart towards mee.

I will leve your Lordships' farther trobell,—remembringe this gratefull oppinion:—'*Non hostiliter sæviit, qui omnia cum possit, fortunas abstulit, spem vitamque reliquit.*'

Your Lordships' most humbell to cummaunde,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lords of His Majestics most honorabell Privey Councell, Cummissioners for the Triall of the late Treasons.*

Endorsed by Cecil: "*Sir W. Ralegh.*"

## CXXIII.

### TO LADY RALEGH.

From a contemporaneous Transcript. *Domestic Correspondence:* James I., vol. xcvi. § 71 (**Rolls House**). Collated with another Transcript in MS. Sloane, 3520, ff. 14–17 (**British Museum**); and with another (also contemporaneous) among the *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield.

LETTER CXXIII.

1603. [December.]

To Lady Ralegh. [From Winchester.]

A letter of farewell and consolation. Written on the eve of his expected execution.

YOU shall receave, deare wief, my last words in these my last lynes. My love I send you, that you may keepe it when I am dead; and my councell, that you may remember it when I am noe more. I would not, with my last Will,[1] present you with sorrowes, deare Besse. Lett them goe to the grave with me, and be buried[2] in the dust. And, seeing it is not the will of God that ever I shall see you in this lief, beare my destruccion gentlie[3] and with a hart like yourself.

First, I send you all the thanks my hart cann conceive, or my penn[4] expresse, for your many troubles and cares taken for me, which—though they have not taken effect as you wished—yet my debt is to you never[5] the lesse; but pay it I never shall in this world.

Secondlie, I beseich you, for the love you bare me living, that you doe not hide yourself many dayes, but by your travell seeke to helpe your miserable fortunes, and the right of your poore childe. Your mourning cannot avayle me that am but dust.

You shall understand that my lands were conveyed to my child, *bonâ fide*. The wrightings were drawn at Mid-

[1] MS. Cecil omits "*last.*" MS. Sloane reads "*by my will.*"
[2] MS. Cecil inserts "*with me.*"
[3] MSS. Cecil and Sloane read "*patiently.*" [4] Ib. "*words.*"
[5] MS. Cecil reads "*not.*"

LETTER CXXIII.
1603. [December.]

summer was twelvemonethes, as divers[1] can wittnesse. | My honest cosen BRETT can testifie so much, and DALBERIE, too, cann remember somewhat therein. | And I trust my bloud will quench their mallice that desire my slaughter;[2] and that they will not alsoe seeke to kill you and yours with extreame poverty. | [3] To what frind to direct thee I knowe not, for all mine have left mee in the true tyme of triall: and I plainly perceive that my death was determyned from the first day. | Most sorry I am (as God knoweth) that, being thus surprised with death, I can leave you noe better estate. [4] I meant you all myne office of wynes, or that[5] I could purchase by selling it; half my stuffe, and jewells,[6] but some few, for my boy. But God hath prevented all my determinations; the great God that worketh all in all. If you can live free from want, care for no more; for the rest is but vanity. Love God, and beginne betymes to repose yourself on Him; therein shall you find true and lastinge ritches, and endles comfort. For the rest, when you have travelled and wearied your thoughts on[7] all sorts of worldly cogitacions, you shall sit downe by Sorrow in the end. Teach your sonne alsoe to serve and feare God, while he is young; that the feare of God may

[1] This word is not legible in the copy preserved amongst the State Papers; and the two lines which follow are in that copy wholly wanting, as they also are in MS. Cecil. They are found in MS. Sloane, where the preceding words "as . . . can wittnesse" do not occur.

[2] MS. Sloane reads "*that have thus cruelly murthered mee.*" MS. Cecil, "that *desired* my slaughter."

[3] This clause is entirely wanting in the copy in *Domestic Correspondence*, xcvi. 71. In MS. Sloane the reading is as in the text.

[4] MS. Cecil reads, "*God knowes I meant,*" &c.

[5] MS. Sloane reads, "*all that I would have purchased,*" &c.

[6] MS. Cecil reads, "*half my stuffe, and half my jewles, and some,*" &c. MS. Sloane, "*all my jewells; but some on't for the boy.*"

[7] MS. Sloane reads "*over;*" and so, also, MS. Cecil.

LETTER CXXIII. 1603. [December.]

grow upp in[1] him. Then will God[2] be a husband unto you, and a father unto him; a husband and a father which[3] can never be taken from you.

BAYLY oweth me two hundred pounds, and ADRION[4] six hundred pounds. In Gersey, alsoe, I have much owinge me. The arrearages of the wynes will pay my debts. And, howsoever, for my soul's healthe,[5] I beseech you pay all poore men. When I am gonne, no doubt you shalbe sought unto by many, for the world thinks that I was very ritch; but take heed of the pretences of men and of their affections; for they laste but in honest and worthy men. And no greater misery cann befall you in this life then to become a pray, and after to be despised. I speak it (God knowes) not[6] to disswad you from marriage,—for that wilbe best for you—both in respect of God and the world.[7] As for me, I am no more your's, nor you myne. Death hath cutt us asunder; and God hath devided me from the world, and you from me.

Remember your poore childe for his father's sake, that comforted[8] you and loved you in his happiest tymes. | [9] Gett those letters (if it bee possible) which I writt to the Lords,[10] wherein | I sued for my lief, but God knoweth that itt was for you and yours that I desired it, | [9] but itt is true that I disdaine myself for begging itt. | [11] And know itt (deare wief) that your sonne is

[1] MS. Cecil, "*with.*" [2] MS. Sloane, "*And the same God will,*" &c.
[3] MS. Cecil, "*that.*"
[4] Adrian Gilbert, his half-brother. In MS. Sloane, the name is given in full. [5] MSS. Cecil and Sloane, "*sake.*" [6] MS. Cecil omits "*not.*"
[7] Here I follow MS. Cecil. MS. Sloane reads, "*both in respect of the world and of God.*" The Rolls House copy omits the latter words.
[8] MSS. Sloane and Cecil, and many other MS. copies, read "*chose you.*"
[9] These clauses are wanting in *Dom. Corr.* xcvi. 71, and also in MS. Cecil at Hatfield. They are taken from MS. Sloane.
[10] See Letters CXIX., CXX., and CXXII. [11] MS. Cecil, "*For.*"

LETTER CXXIII.

1603. [December.]

the childe of a true man, and who, in his own respect, despiseth Death, and all his misshapen and ouglie formes.[1]

I cannot wright much. God knowes howe hardlie I stole this tyme, when all sleep; and it is tyme[2] to separate my thoughts from the world. Begg my dead body, which living was denyed you; and either lay itt att Sherborne | [3] if the land continue, | or in Exiter church, by my father and mother. | I can wright[4] noe more. | Tyme and Death call me awaye.

The everlasting, infinite powerfull, and inscrutable[5] God, that Almightie God that is goodnes itself, mercy[6] itself, the true lief and light, keep you and yours, and have mercy on me, and | teach[7] me to | forgeve my persecutors and false accusers; and send us to meete in His glorious kingdome. My true wief, farewell. Blesse my poore boye; pray for me. My true God hold you both in His armes.

[8] | Written with the dyeing hand of sometyme thy husband, but now (alasse!) overthrowne.

Your's that was; but nowe not my owne, |

W. RALEGH.

[1] MS. Sloane, "*shapes.*"

[2] Ib. "*itt is alsoe high tyme.*"

[3] See note [9] on preceding page.

[4] MS. Sloane, "*say.*"

[5] Ib. "*omnipotent.*"

[6] The words "*mercy itself*" do not occur in MS. Sloane.

[7] These words do not occur in MS. Cecil, which reads, "*have mercy on me, and forgive,*" &c.

[8] All that follows is wanting in the copy in *Domestic Correspondence*, xcvi. 71, and also in MS. Cecil at Hatfield. In MS. Sloane the words "yours that was, but nowe not my owne," *follow* the signature, and are initialled "W. R." In MS. Cecil the "W. R." follows the word "*armes.*"

## CXXIV.

### TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 112 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXIV. —— 1603. [December.]

To Lord Cecil. [From Winchester.]

Thanks for his friendly offices.—Promises of unalterable affection.

MY LORD CECYLL,

TO geve yow thancks, to promis gratefullnis, to returne words, is all I can do; but that your Lordship will esteeme them I cannot promis my sealf; no, not so mich as hope it.

To use defences for the errors of former tymes, I cannot. For I have fayled, bothe in frindshipe and in judgment. Therfore this is all that I can now say for my sealf: Vouchsaufe to esteeme me as a man raysed from the dead, though not in body, yet in mind. For neather Fortune, which sumetyme guyded me,—or rather Vanety, for with the other I was never in love,—shall turne myne eyes from yow toward her, while I have beinge; nor the World, with all the cares or intisements belonging unto it, shall ever way down (though it be of the greatest wayght to mortall men) the memory alone of your Lordship's trew respects had of mee; respects tried by the touch; tried by the fier; trew wittnises, in trew tymes; and then only, when only availabell.

And although I must first attribute unto God, who inclined; and secoundly and essentially, after God, to my deere Soverayne, who had goodnes apt to be inclyned;—goodness and mercy without cumparison and exampell;—yet I must never forgett what I find was in your Lordship's desire, what in your will, what in your

words and works, so farr as coulde becume yow as a counselor, and farr beyonnd all dew[1] to me, as an offendor. Thes I have fixed to my hart inseperabelly. From thes, neather tyme, nor perswation, or ought elce, wonnt to chang affections or to wast them, shall beat from mee, or make old in mee; who will acknowledg your Lordship with a love without maske or cover, and follow yow to the end.

LETTER CXXIV. 1603. December.

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—All the rest have written to His Majesty, since the receving of his grace. I hope I may presume to do the like.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell the Lorde* CECYLL, *Principall Secritorye, &c.*

## CXXV.

## TO THE KING.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 109 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXV. 1603. December. To the King. [From Winchester. Thanks for the sparing of his life.

MOST MIGHTY AND MOST MERCIFULL KINGE,

SEING it hath pleased your Majestye to breathe into dead yearth a new life, I amonge others do presume to offer my humblest thancks and acknowledgments, which (God knowes) can neather in words be exprest or presented. For wheras your Majestye hath reason to reckon mee among thos who have foolishly imagined meischeif, who have wickedly intended the greatest ill towards the greatest goodnes, and yet have pleased to

[1] *duc.*

LETTER CXXV. — 1603. December.

spare the blowe which both exampell hath taught and law hath warranted your Majestye to strike, alas!—what waight have words, or vowes, or protestations, or wherwith cann so unworthy a creture make payment of so uncountabell a debt?

To promis my fydellety, I know that I am bound by God both to promis and performe it, though I had never receyved any such great grace as this. To vow my service, in what sort soever, I know it to be the dewty of every vassall towards his Soverayne. To say that I will hassard my life for your Majestye,—I have done it for my frind; for my country; or even sumetyme for vayne glory. And if I should directly yeilde it up for your Majestye, what thancks can be deserved therby, seinge I shall but offer that which is none of myne, and in which I have neather right nor property?

What therfore to promis, or what to pay, I know not. God only, who doth wittnes my thoughts what they have byne and ar, must speake for mee. It is trew that I have allredy suffred diversly, but deservedly. I have byn beaten with Sorrow, *sed mea culpa*, for it was myne own error that opened the passage to that passion. I have been beaten by Fortune, but it was myne own unthanckfullnis, who would not know when shee had dealt liberally with mee. And I have bynn beaten by God Hymesealf, but with a souft hand in respect of my greatest offences to Hym. Only my soverayne Lorde, who might justly have beaten mee and justly have distroyde mee, have vouchsaufed to spare mee; and hath pleased to geve mee every dropp of bludd in my body; to hold mee back from shame; and to stopp his ears from the voyce of publick law, and private hatred.

For thes works of mercy, of manly gentelnes, of kingly magnanimity, what deeds to be performde by

LETTER CXXV'
1603. December.

mee cann Hope itsealf flatter mee withall? No; in place of deeds would to God I could but in my very thoughts attribute what I ought; what is dew. Here is all of cumfort which remayneth,—that as your Majestye hath imitated God the celestiall Kinge in gevinge, that your Majestye wilbe pleased to do the like in receyvinge. Other retribution then acknowledgment and love God looketh not for; nether can your Majestye have other of mee, *sed miserationum tuarum nunquam obliviscar*, but remayn your Majesties most humblest and most bound and indebted vassall,

W. R.

Addressed:
*To the Kings most excellent Majestye, my soverayne Lorde.*

Endorsed, in Lord Cecil's hand: *"Sir W. Ralegh to the King."*

## CXXVI.

## TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 22 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXVI.
1603. December?

To Lord Cecil. [From the Tower?]

Personal and landed estate.—Debts.—

IF thes letters cume out of tyme to your Lordshipe, I beseich yow to lay them asyde and to pardon mee. It pleased the Kinge to promis my wife her goods and chatells. I have willed her to sew for them. She thincks it to littell purpose untill she have a Bill drawn for them. That, she cannot have, without a Warrant to Mr. Aturney or Sollicitor.

My debts are trebell to my goods; the ever-living God doth know it to be trew. And therfore the King's Majesty shall ease hyme sealf both of charg and trobell

LETTER CXXVI.

1603. December?

Desire for a royal re-grant of Sherborne. —Other personal affairs.

by refusing to meddell with ether. I speak it not, to have a reason for the King's charety—for it hath respect but to it sealf and to God—but to deliver trewly my miserabell estat. And thos small debts which ar owing to me I cannot recover, untill it pleas the Kinge to inable mee, or sume body for mee.

My lands ar tied uppon my child and my brother. If I plead that conveyance, I cannot use the poure of revocation in the conveiance, who have lost all poure. Then, can I never satisfy my creditors. And besyds, I shall live a ward to my child and to my brother. If I take my land from the Kinge, I may then dispose of sume part of it, to free me from clamor. That the conveyance was made att Midsomer was twelvemoneth,[1] DODRIGE[2] can witnes, and, if he have law or honesty, it is good.

Yet I do humblie desire that as I hold my life, so I may that littell land that I have, of the King's gift; that nothing may be myne but what his mercy hath geven mee. The trew valew of my land I have delivered this bearer; all but xii[li] a yeare, in Devon. I protest uppon my alleagence that this is the trew state of it to my knowledge; and God doth know that it will not geve mee and myne bread and cloaths. I pay here four pounds[3] a week, for my diet. *I* must pay it, if the Kinge geve me my poore estate agayne. And, my

[1] *I. e.* Midsummer 1602.

[2] Sir John Doddridge was at this time an eminent lawyer, and a member of the Society of the Middle Temple. Born at Barnstaple, in 1555, he was almost exactly Sir Walter's contemporary, as well as his fellow-Devonian. The "*if*" in this sentence is very memorable, read in the light of the events of Ralegh's life in 1607 and 1608. Sir John was, in the special sense of the term, a *Crown* lawyer, and was made a Judge of the King's Bench in 1613. He died in 1628, and his tomb is amongst the most conspicuous monuments —not the most beautiful—of Exeter Cathedral.

[3] Equal, it will be remembered, to about £20 of these days.

LETTER CXXVI.
1603. December?

Lord CECILL, the Lord in Heaven doth witnis that I, and my wife and child, must propbrtion our sealvs such a famely as we must all live att four pounds a week, for all our dietts, or elce we must all go naked. For it takes too parts of all the rent I have in the world. If, by your goodnis, thes things might cum to sume question or end, I shalbe most bound unto yow.

My tenants refuse to pay my wife her rent. I hold divers leases uppon forfeture, in that mannor,[1] of myne own tenants. Alas! all goes to ruin of that littell which remaynethe. My woods ar cutt down; my grounds wast; my stock—which made up my rent—sold. And except sume end be had, by your good favor to the Kinge, I perishe every waye.

This I leve to your tyme and charetabell care, and rest your Lordship's miserabell poore frind, ever to be cummanded by yow,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Of £3,000[2] a yeare ther remayns but £300; and uppon that £3,000 debt.[3]

Addressed:
*To the right honorabell my singuler good Lord, the Lord* CECYLL, *Principall Secritory, &c.*

Endorsed, in Sir R. Cecil's hand:
*Sir Walter Ralegh.*

[1] Sherborne.

[2] Equal, substantially, to £15,000, now.

[3] See Letter CXXX., p. 299.

## CXXVII.

### TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 10 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXVII.

1603-1604? [December? or January.]

To Lord Cecil. [From the Tower.]

Message sent by the Earl of Pembroke for the Seals of the Duchy of Cornwall. —Expression of his desire to write to the King.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR LORDSHIPE,

THER came a sarvant unto mee of the Earle of PEMBROOKS for the Seal of the Duchy of Cornwale, having a letter of your Lordship to Mr. Levetenant for his access unto mee. I beseich your Lordship to excuse mee in that I did not deliver the Seale unto his man. For I received it from her Majesty, uppon the death of the Earle of BEDFORD. And I thinck, when your Lordship gave up the Duchy, yow delivered the Seales by warrant from her.

I had thought to have taken this good occasion to have written to his Majesty, which I never did, since my returne from Winchester, although all others have don. If your Lordship do not thinck it unfitting mee, I would willingly do it. But, if your Lordship thinck it not best for mee, I will forbeare it; and then write unto your Lordship and send yow the Seale to deliver the King.

I do not desire to offend the Earle, but I hope yow will thinck it reasonabell that I deliver it by order, as I receaved it, and not uppon a message by his man. I humblie beseich your Lordship, by SHELBURY or some elce, to vouchsaufe your favorabell advice,—whose I shall ever remayne to the end of my life, to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord* CECYLL.

Endorsed: "1604. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Lord.*"

1604.

## CXXVIII.

## TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 12 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXVIII.

1603-1604? January?

To Lord Cecil. [From the Tower.]

With the Seals of the Duchy.—Enclosure of a letter to the King.

I HAVE sent your Lordshipe herewith the Duchy Seale, and have writen to the King's Majesty that I have besought your Lordship to deliver the same unto his Majesties hands, to whom only it apparteyneth to dispose therof.

I humblie beseich your Lordship also to deliver for mee this inclosed, wherin I have humblie prayed his Majesty to continew and perfait his mercies begun.

Good my Lord, remember your poore, awncient, and trew frind, that I perish not here, where health weres awaye; and whose short tymes run fast on in misery only.

Those which plotted to surprize and assaile the person of the Kinge,—thos that ar Papists, ar att liberty. Do not forgett mee, nor doubt mee. For as God liveth I shall never forgett your trew honor and remorse of mee. But will remayne, as your thought, to serve yow,

W. R.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord* CECYLL.

Endorsed:

1604. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Lord.*

## CXXIX.

### TO THE KING.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 111 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXIX.

1603-1604. Jan. 21.

To King James. [From the Tower?]

Assertion of his persistent loyalty.—Appeal to the King's justice and mercy.

THE lief which I had, most mighty Prince, the law hath taken from mee, and I am now but the same earth and dust out of which I was made. If my offence had proportion with your Majesties mercy, I might dyspaire; or if my deserving had anye quantety with your Majesties unmeasurabell goodnes, I might hope. But your great Majesty, and not I, must judg of both. Name, bloud, gentillety or estate, I have none; no, not so mich as a beeing; no, not so mich as *vita plantæ*. I have only a penetent sowle, in a body of iron, which moveth towards the loadstone of Death, and cannot bee witheld from towchinge it, unles your Majesties mercy turne the poynct towards it which repelleth.[1]

Lost I am, for heringe a vayne man; for heringe only; but never belevinge or acceptinge. And, soe littell accompt I made of that speach of his (which was now my condemnation), as the livinge God doth trewly wittnis—that I never remembred any such thinge till it was, att my triall, objected agaynst mee. So did hee repay my care who cared to make hyme good, which I see no care of man can effect.

But God, for my offences to Hyme, hath layd this hevy burden on mee, misserabell and unfortunate

[1] MS. reads, "*which re-expelleth*," but it is probable that '*expelleth*' was first written, and then imperfectly altered with the pen. The allusion is obvious.

LETTER CXXIX.
1603-1604. Jan. 21.

wrech. For not lovinge yow, my Soveraigne, God hath not layde this sorrow on mee; for the same God knows, with whom I may not dissembell, that I have trewly honored your Majesty by fame; and trewly loved and admired your Majesty by knowledge: so as wher I live or dy, your Majesties trew and humbell sarvant I will live or dy.

If I nowe write what doth not now becume me, most mighty Kinge, vouchsaufe to ascribe it to the councell of a dead hart, and to a minde which sorrow hath broken. But the more my misery is, the more is your Majesties mercy, if yow pleas to behold it; and the less I can deserve, the more liberall your Majesties gift. God only herein your Majestie shall imitate, both in geving frely and by gevinge to such a one from whom ther can be no retribution; savinge only a desire to pay agayne a lent lief; and to repay it with the same great love which the same great goodness shall pleas to lend it.

This beinge the first letter which ever your Majestie receved from a dead man,[1] I humblie submyt my sealf to the will of my supreme Lorde, and shall willingly and patiently suffer what his great and generus hart shall determyne by that humbell vassell which yet breatheth by your Majesties permission and meere mercy,

W. R.

Addressed: "*To the Kinges most excelent Majesty, my Soverayne Lorde.*'

Endorsed, by Sir Robert Cecil: "*S. W. Ralegh.*" A copy, exactly contemporaneous, now preserved in MS. Lansdowne, clvii. fol. 155 (British Museum), is endorsed, in the hand of Sir Julius Cæsar, in these words: "*A copy of the letter written by Sir Walter Raleigh to the Kings Majesty, 21 Januarii, 1603*" [*legal style*].

[1] The reader will have doubtless noticed that if this expression, "the *first* letter" is to be taken quite literally, it follows that Letter CXXV. has been

## CXXX.

### TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 23 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXX.
1603-1604?
To the Lords of the Council. [From the Tower.]
Estates and other personal affairs.

My dewty most humblie remembered. Wheras it pleased your Lordshipps to write your letters for the stay of the sale of such poore stuff as [re][1] maynethe in my howse att Sherburne, I understande that notwithstan[dinge][1] your Lordships' letters that[2] the Cummissioners do go on for the finding[3] of my lands. And because my conveyance of thos lands is here in Lon[don][1] in the custody of my sarvant JOHNE WOOD, Vitler for the Province of Munster, and that he is now att the Bathes,[4] so as I cannot gett [my][1] writings out of his hands, I do most humblie beseich your Lordships to be pleased to write your letters to Mr. Sergent PHILLIPS, and the rest, to putt of the execution of their Cummission for some eyght or ten dayes.

And, althoughe I had rather be altogether bound unto the Kings Majesty for thos lands, then to hold

misplaced. It would also seem to follow that Sir Julius Cæsar's date so expressly assigned to the present letter is erroneous. But I incline to the opinion that Ralegh now—*i. e.* at the time of writing this letter—first realized to his own mind his position as a man 'dead in law,' and so his present letter was really the first written to the King, under that consciousness.

[1] The words or syllables within brackets have been torn away from the margin of the original letter.

[2] So repeated in MS.

[3] A 'finding by office,' or inquisition of a jury.

[4] Bath.

LETTER CXXX.
1603-1604?

them by any other strenght of law, yet, that it may apere that the conveyance by me made was drawn in our late Queen's tyme, as Mr. DODREG[1] can witnis, who drew it, and that I had never any ill intent therin, I do beseich your Lordships that the same may be perused by the Cummissioners before they proceed to finde the lands by Jury, on[2] way or other.

The whole receat of thos lands, with the parke and a stock of £400 in sheep [in][3] the sayd parke, is but on[2] thowsand marke,[4] out of which I pay unto the Byshops of Sallisbury for ever to[5] hundred and sixty pound a yeare; and in fees and pensions wherwith the land is charged, and towards the provision of the Kings howse, to maymed soldiers, and to the poore, above fifty pound a yeare more. So as the clere valew is not four hondred pound, with a stock. My charges in this place,[6] for diet only, is £208 a yeare; and if his Majesty do allow the rest of this sume—to make it £300, unto me, for all other necessares—ther remaynethe not above on[2] hundred mark[7] a yeare for my poore wife and childe, and their sarvants, which, God knowes, will not geve them bread and cloaths.

My debts ar above £3,000. All my goods that I have left in the world—I protest before the majesty of God—ar not worth on thowsand markes.[4] All my rich hangins I sold my Lorde Admirall for £500. I had but on[2] riche bedd, which I solde the Lorde COBHAME. All my plate—which was very fayre—is now lost, or eaten out with interest att on[2] CHENES'[8] in Lumbard Street. That which I have alreddy lost

[1] See the note on p. 292.
[2] *one.*
[3] See note [1] in the preceding page.
[4] £666 13*s.* 4*d.* (=£3,333, 1867).
[5] *two.*
[6] The Tower.
[7] £66 13*s.* 4*d.*
[8] Cheynes, a London goldsmith.

LETTER CXXX. —— 1603-1604?

by Jersey, the Wine Office, the Stannerys, Gillingam,[1] and Portland,[2] is at least £3,000 a yeare. So as I trust that his Majesty will be mercifull unto me for the rest; which, after the payment of my debts, wilbe but a miserabell estat, God knowes.

Herein I humblie beseich your Lordships' favors, that I may not be left to utter beggery; and that your Lordships wilbe pleased, in the mean while, to write thos your letters for the stay of this Cummission; and I shall ever rest your Lordships' most humble

W. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorabell the Lords, and others, of his Majesties most honorabell Privey Councell.*"

Endorsed, in the hand of Lord Cecil: "*Sir Walter Raleigh to the Lords.*"

## CXXXI.

### TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 17 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXXI. —— 1604.

To Lord Cecil. [From the Tower.]

Renewed protestation of the injustice of his condemnation. —Assurances of affection to Cecil.—

MY LORD,

IF all Christian and lawfull poure directs itsealf equaly by the counsell of Reason and of Charity,—the on teaching us humane pollecy; the other, celestiall,—your Lordship, whose mind hath bynn ever moderat, doth witnes that yow have received this grace from God, and light from virtu to know that cumpassion hath ever bynn repayd with cumpassion, and cruelty with cruelty. And, if ever this rule have fayled in the life of man (which is rare), it hath bynn performed everlastingly elcwher.

[1] The rangership of Gillingham Forest.

[2] The lieutenancy of Portland Castle.

LETTER CXXXI.

1604.

Entreaties for the preservation to his family of his landed estates.

I do therfore humblie pray your Lordship that yow will looke into that Justice which is never seperate from Mercy, by which, and in which, whosoever useth it, hee douth both pleas and imitate God. And therin, first, but to consider thes too:[1] what my offences have bynn to my Soverayn, and what my errors were towards my frinds; and then, laying both in the balance, together with my losses and afflixions, to consider and way the fault with the payn; and the counterperjures, and person, by whom I have perished.

To be equall herein is the office of a just magistrat. To respect the trewth, and not the law, is celestiall polecy: by which wee must all hope to be judged, and shalbe judged as wee judge; and bee dealt withall, as wee deal with others in this life;—if we beleve God Hyme sealf.

To be cumpassionat and moderating is an effect of Piety for which God was never debtor to any man. And if God have moved others to preserve mee from the worst of evells, I may trust that the thoughts of my sowle have found grace with Hym, in which Hee never beheld any desire of mans ruin or distruction, mallic, or revendge.

Lastly, to undertake the cause of any man in misery is ether out of trew honor and generosety, which geveth freely and out of no other respect then sealf vertu; or out of Love, which beholds the ill a farr of, and the good att hand. Now your Lordship hath used the first and second to all; and, for Affection,—if nothing be left, it hath cast all his leves of late, and withereth in the spring,—which I cannot beleve; seeing in my darck and dead winter it made that most trew and adventurus proof of it sealf, which I could not hope for, and can

[1] *two.*

LETTER CXXXI.
1604.

never repay. For thos lines, writen in another hand, of which I knew the phraze, ar also writen on my hart; which my sowle can never leve to repeat while it liveth in my body. And if any cunning toong of man; or if an angell, tell your Lordship the contrary, do not beleve hym. Neither shall I ever distinguish[1] that demonstration of my lives care which the effect sealed, while I have being, or know ther is a God which hath ever hated that ingratetud to the ministers of His goodness.

A secound effect of your Lordship's great favor was the preservation of my moveabells, which the ravenus Sherifs were in hand to have seised, and att my gates to have rifled, if your Lordship's letters had not then cum to have countermanded it; which it also pleased yow, soon after, to procure mee.

The last is now humblie desired of mee and myne, —which is the obtayning of that poore estate which remayns, that the life which your Lordship hath stayed at the grave's brinck may have wherwith to releve it, and that my poore childe may be your poore creature for ever as I am; which being doon I protest, before the living God, I shall take my loss for a gayne; nothing being lost, that could have bettered any of myne, but the Lease of the Wines, which was desperat before my trobells.

And, for conclusion, I beseich your Lordship from my hart, which shall ever devise how to honor yow, that yow will resolve, and do me right therin, to beleve that my thoughts and my love can never be seperat from yow, and that I may be of sume use to yow, if yow pleas to finishe the worck for me, which yow have begun, which I shall imprint in the harts of all myne; and

[1] So in MS.

remayne for ever so tied unto your Lordship as, if ther be any life and body your's which you may accompt of to expire to what yow pleas, it is my sealf, your Lordship's trew poore frind and trew sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER CXXXI. 1604.

Addressed:
*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord* CECYLL.

Endorsed:
1604. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Lord.*

## CXXXII.

## TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 16 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXXII. 1604.

To Lord Cecil. [From the Tower.]

Assurance of his Dorsetshire estates.—His expectation of a pardon.

MY wife told mee that shee spake with your Lordshipe yesterday, about my poore estate and hers, and that it pleased your Lordship to tell her that yow would be pleased to deale for the assurance of my land unto some Feoffees, of trust to the use of her and my childe; but that for my pardon, it could not yet be dunn.

Whatsoever your Lordship shall do herein, it is of your great goodness, and beyonnd my poure to deserve. And, if my pardon may not be had, then I most humblie beseich yow that the land may be so obtayned, in the mean while, which to the end of my life I shall acknowledg.

But wheras it pleased your Lordship to add that yow would be contented that somebody elce should hereafter procure mee a pardon, I do rather desire to attend your

LETTER CXXXII. 1604.

Lordship's leasure therin, then to ingage my sealf to any man livinge for so great a benefyte, but to your Lordship, who hath first saved my life and estate; and keipt mee and myne from utter ruin. For it cannot bee but a great debt from mee to any man, and a challendg of my service and love to hyme for ever, that shall procure it.

And, good my Lord, lett mee bee your trew and only creature without any other dependency. I may yet do your Lordship sume kind of service, ether by word, deed, or writing; all which God douth know I will imploy to do your Lordship honor for ever.

If I had a pardon, I may notwithstanding be restraynd or confined. If I may not be here about London (which God cast my sowle into hell if I desire, but to do your Lordship some kind of sarvice), I shalbe most contented to be confined within the Hundred of Sherburn; or, if I cannot be allowed so much, I shalbe contented to live in Holland, wher I shall, perchance, gett some imployment uppon the Indies; or elce, if I be apoyncted to any bishope or other gentelman or nobel man, or that your Lordship would lett me keep but a park of yours—which I will buy from sume one that hath it—your Lordship shalbe sure that I will never break the order which yow shall pleas to undertake for me. And, if I bee any wher nire yow, yow shall find that in sume kind or other I shall do your Lordship service. For God douth know that if I cannot go to the Bathe this fall I am undun, for my health; and shalbe dead, or disabled for ever.

Good my Lord, make an end of mee, one way or other; that I may witness to the world the great debt I owe yow. And your Lordship shall find it from God,—and with men in sume proportion,—to your

Lordship's advantage; to whom I will remayne your then most thanckfullest man that ever received good from your Lordship or ever shall.

W. RALEGH.

LETTER CXXXII. 1604.

Addressed:
*To the right honorabell my singuler good Lord, the Lord* CECYLL.

Endorsed, in Lord Cecil's hand: "*Sir Walter Ralegh.* 1604;" and, in another hand, "*To my Lord. From the Tower.*"

## CXXXIII.

## TO LEVINUS MUNCKE, SECRETARY TO LORD CRANBORNE.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 21 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXXIII. 1604?

To Levinus Muncke. [From the Tower.]

MR. LEVINUS,

IF necessitie were not impudent, or if povertie could heall it sealf, I would not take this boldness to trobell my Lorde, who hath alreddy putt many debts uppon hyme that is abell to repay nothing, and every day less then other; forsaken of frinds, and of health, and of all but God.

Fraudulent dealings of one Thomas Scott, a merchant.

I solde of late to[1] peeces of ordenance to one Mr. ALOBLASTER, a marchant, whome yow know. Hee that made the bargayne between us was one THOMAS SCOTT, a broker,—one that I have done much for in my tyme, and one that, since I came back from Winchester, offred to sell his howse for me, if I wanted, with protestations to shamless to be dissembled. But, having gotten my mony into his hands which Mr. ALOBLASTER sent mee,

[1] *two.*

LETTER CXXXIII.
1604?

and five pound waight of tobacco promised, hath sold the tobacco and reteyneth my mony; finding mee now fitt for all men to tread on. Hee hath goods in a shipp of Mr. ALOBLASTER'S, which Mr. ALOBLASTER advised mee to attach, but he hath cunningly shippt them in other men's names, so as I have lost a charge. Arrest hyme I cannot, nor sew hyme, because the law knowes me but for dead.

My humble sute is to have a pursevant, and my Lord's letter to take hyme. Hee meanes to go away for Spayne in Mr. ALOBLASTER'S shipp; so as, if the pursevant find hyme not this Sonday, he will imbarck one[1] Munday, onless it would pleas my Lorde to write a cummandment to the master of Mr. ALOBLASTER'S shipp, called *The Prudence*, of London, to command the master not to take hyme abord, here or elcewher, till hee have payd me the mony.

If yow thinck it not offencive, good Mr. LEVINUS, procure it; if yow do, I must have patience, till God geve end to my miseres or to mee.

Your poore frinde assured,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To my loving frinde, Mr.* LEVINUS; *or, in his absence, to Mr.* BRUERTON, *Secritore to my Lord of* CRANBORN.

Endorsed: "*Sir Walter Raleg;*" and, in a later hand, "*To Mr.* BRUERTON, *Secretary to Lord* CRANBORN."

1 *on.*

## CXXXIV.

### TO THE LORD TREASURER BUCKHURST, TO SECRETARY LORD CRANBORNE, AND OTHERS, LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 14 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXXIV.

1604.

To Lord Buckhurst and others. [From the Tower.]

Particulars of his Estates at Sherborne, &c.

IF ther be any more rents then thes,[1] to my knowledg,—but the herbage of the Parks, which was never in mee, but purchased in my child's name, tenn year since, and a Lease of Pinford grounds in Mr. HERIOT, for 58 years,—then I refuse all grace of and from His Majesty, —except I may miscast a matter of foure or five pound in the whole, or leve out sume five or six akers of ground in sume quillet.

But this is the substance of all, uppon my alleagence; and, therfore, if it pleas your Honors to make further inquiry, I submit my sealf unto it; and I beseich your Lordships that a coppy hereof may be delivered to the Commissioners. All that greevs mee herein is that so infamus and detested a wrech as MEERE[2] is made a Commissioner,—as hee hath vaunted and sent me worde, —and who dares not, otherwise, shew his face, having so many executions agaynst hyme; and hath not forty shilling-worth of ground in the world, but of my gift, and who now rooteth up my copps-woods and promiseth to pay all his creditors with the part promised hyme out of Sherburn;—spreding it abrod that sume one of your

[1] See the *Schedule*, hereafter.

[2] See Letters XCVIII. CII. and CVI., heretofore; pp. 227, 237, 245.

LETTER CXXXIV. 1604.

Honors hath imployed hyme, withe a purpose to procure this (the remaynder of all which I had in the world) of His Majesty, and to turne my poore wife, child, and famely a begging. But I trust that God hath not geven so cruell a hart to any worthy man,—whom the spoyle of me and myne cannot inrich; but that all your Lordships will in charety stand my good Lords herein,—having lost allreddy £3,000 a yeare.

And I shall remayne your humbell sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

[SCHEDULE.

*Wholly in Sir W. Ralegh's hand, and written on the* first *leaf of the sheet. The letter printed above being written on the* second *leaf.*]

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *The Manner of* Sherburne, *with the Hundred and Liberties, with the Park, Farm, and all other demayn grounds, are of the yearly rent of assize . . .* | £150 | 16 | 4½ |
| *The Village called* Casteltoun, *wherin the old Castell standeth, is of rent of assize* | 003 | 12 | 0 |
| *A secound street or Village within* Sherburn *towne, called* Newland, *is of rent of assize . . . . . .* | 003 | 13 | 4½ |
| *A Village in the country, thrce mile from* Sherburn, *being a member of* Sherburn, *called* Caundell Byshope, *is of the yearly rent of assyze of . . . .* | 021 | 11 | 2 |
| *A Village without the park wall, parcell of* Sherburn, *and a member therof, is of the old rent of assyze . . . . .* | 007 | 13 | 10½ |
| *The Farm of* Whitfeild *is of the old rent of . . . . . .* | 013 | 8 | 0 |
| Carried forward . . . | £200 | 14 | 9½ |

LETTER CXXXIV.

1604.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brought forward . . . | £200 | 14 | 9½ |
| *The Manner of* Yetminster *is of the old rent of assyze* . . . . . | 012 | 5 | 11 |
| But this Manner is a kind of Fee simpell in the Tenants, and the Lord hath but a small fine att every death or alienation. | | | |
| Sum totall of the old rent . . . . | [1]£207 | 8 | 0½ |
| *The Farm of* Sherburn *is worth by improvement, besyds all reprises, if it do not decay* . . . . . | £250 | 0 | 0 |
| *Ther ar also certayn demayn grounds in* Whitfeild *which are let to farm for the yearly rent of* . . . . . | 060 | 0 | 0 |
| *Ther ar other grounds, redeemed out of the Tenants' hands, in* Caundell Byshope, *or* Doton, *worth by the year* . . . . | 040 | 0 | 0 |
| *I do also rent sume pasture grounds of a Tenant of myne called* SWETNAM, *and do make profite of them, besyds the rent which I pay hyme by the year* | 012 | 0 | 0 |
| *Ther ar other grounds and closes about* Sherburn *which may be worth about £30 or £40 a yeare; so as all these demayns and farms and feilds ar worth, by the year, in the totall, £400.* | | | |
| *Ther is also a rent charg which Sir* ROBERT MILLER *douth pay unto mee, out of* Up Cern, *and other his lands, in consideration of the fee farm of them which I procured hyme* . . . | 022 | 10 | 3½ |
| Carried forward . . . | £384 | 10 | 3½ |

[1] So in MS., instead of £213 os. 8½*d.*

LETTER CXXXIV. 1604.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brought forward . . . | | | £384 | 10 3½ |
| *I have also half of a demayns*[1] *in* Pinford, *called* Pinford Manner, *of the yearly old rent of* . . . . . | | | 005 | 0 0 |
| *I have also the moyty of the Manner of* Prunsley, *of the yearly old rent of* . | | | 007 | 2 7½ |
| *I have also a Mill in* Sherburn *which I purchased of her late Majestie, which was in leas to* ARTHUR SWAYN *for* 3 *lives, of the old rent of* . . . . . | | | 006 | 4 10 |
| *I have also a Close behind the* Castell *of five akers, and too or three other littell closes which, to bee lett, ar worth by the year* | | | 006 | 5 0 |
| The totall of the rent charg. | £22 | 10 3½ | | |
| The totall of the old rent . | 18 | 7 0½ | | |
| The rackt rent of the closes is | 6 | 5 0 | | |
| Sum total of all together is | 629 | 8 4 | or nire therabout. | |
| Reprises which go out of this sum :— | | | | |
| To the Bishop, for ever . . . | £260 | 0 0 | | |
| To one Edmond Lane, for 25 years or 30 years . . . . | 030 | 0 0 | | |
| In fees dew to Officers and others | 044 | 13 0 | | |
| Besyds payments to the King for the Houshold and other small charges. | | | | |
| Butt wheras in this deduction of fees the Bayly is to have £8. a yeare, and the Receiver sume £7. a year, I do not pay the Baylife, because he is myne enemy, and hath abused mee; and the Receiver, being my sarvant, douth not exact it of mee. Butt yet all thes be dew, and have ever bynn payd. | | | 334 | 13 0 |
| So remayneth clere, | | | £295 | 0 0 |

[1] *demesne.*

LETTER CXXXIV. 1604.

Now the reason why, by the Office, ther is found but fourscore pound to the Kings Majesty is because the Farm, valued at £240 or £250, being in lease and the Assignment not found, ther is but the old rent found for the King. As also because it hath pleased his Majesty to geve too of my sarvants all my goods, leases, and chattells. And then, if the rackt rent of the Farm—which is £240 or £250—bee deducted, ther remayneth, according to the Office, about fourscore and odd pounds.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell my singuler good Lords, the Lord Treasorer of Ingland, the Lord* CECYLL, *and the Lord* HUMES, *Chancelor of his Majesties Exchequer, &c.*

Endorsed:

1604. *Sir Walter Ralegh to the Lords.*

## CXXXV.

### TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 24 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXXV. 1604.

To Lord Cranborne [From the Tower.]

Estates and other personal affairs.

THAT life, which cann be of no use to others, and is now also weery of mee, at parting putts mee in mind of thos whom Nature and Charetie commands me not to neglect,—a wife and a childe, and a wife with childe, whom, God knowes, have nothing elce to inherite then my shame and ther own misery. How to healp it, or to whom to cumplayn, I know not, whose fortune is over darck for the reason of the world to peirce. And I who can never pay old debts, nor deserve new trust, cannot be so partiall to my sealf but to know that to press your Lordshipp (who have alreddy cast back unto mee all I have) were ether foolishness or impudency.

LETTER CXXXV. 1604.

And while I know that the best of men are but the spoyles of Tyme and certayne images wherwith childish Fortune useth to play,—kisse them to-day and break them to-morrow,—and therfore can lament in my sealf but a common destiney, yet the pitifull estate of thos who ar altogether healpless, and who dayly wound my sowle with the memory of their miseries, force mee, in dispight of all resolvedness, bothe to bewayle them and labor for them. Not that I wish them, God knowes, the least proportion of plenty, having forgotten that happiness which found to mich to littell; but my thoughts are now guyded by thos affections which Povertie hath begotten, who contemplate it to be a sufficient felicitie for them but to be able to eat of their own bread.

Now if it shall please your Lordship to pardon the necessetie of my presumtion, I most humblie beseich you to receve the opinions of my Lord Cheif Justice and Mr. Aturney for the Conveyance. Mr. DODRIGE knows that it had bynn sealed almost to years ere the Queen died, if the feoffes had not bynn so farr asunder; and God doth witness with mee that att that tyme when it was dun Sir A. BRETT was the sole cause, in respect of my quarells with GORGE[1] and PRESTON.[2] If they shall judg fraud herein, God judg them with more grace then they have judged of it, and mee.

Howsoever it bee, it seemes to mee that His Majestye (by your Lordshipp moved to compassion) promised to leve me what was left; and that the more it appeered in valew that His Majestie would then more willingly graunt it. This mich I had cause to hope for; the rather because your Lordship tolde mee att Winchester that yow were sorry that I had resigned Jersey,—words which, God knowes, peirced my hart to the center, as witnesing

[1] Sir Ferdinando Gorges. See Vol. I. p. 256. [2] Sir Amias Preston.

LETTER CXXXV. 1604.

a feeling of his adversetie whom yow had once loved. That and other things of the greatest debts layd on mee, makes mee still presume that your Lordship's hart, which God for goodness hath blest, being ether moved with the past, or by the compassion of my present, would yet vouchsauf to save this quarter which remayneth from the ravens of this tyme, which feed on all things. For, as it is, so ar my tenants made afeard as I protest, before God, ether I must spoyle all and receve 20*s.* for £20, or elce want altogether. And, in the mean tyme, can neither pay debts, releeve my sealf, or assure bread to my children.

For my own tyme, good my Lord, consider that it cannot be calde a life, but only misery drawn out and spoone into a long thride, without all hope of other end then Death shall provide for mee; who, without the healp of kings or frinds, will deliver mee out of prison.

If your Lordshipp shalbe pleased to do any thinge herein, I shall but offer my sealf for recumpence who am but as a broken reed. But I shall hope that God shall pay your Lordship all my debts. If your Lordshipp forsake mee herein, all I can do is to lett them know that I cannot healp them,—that they may try for themsealvs, while, by my life, they have yet a possession of their birthright.

For the rest, lett the pollecy of the world be what it will; as ther is a God, I know my sealf bound unto your Lordshipp, and which I would pay agayne, if I could, with a gratetud never surmounted.

W. R.

Addressed:

*To the right honorabell my singuler good Lord, the Lord* CECILL, *Viscount* CRANBORNE, *&c.*

Endorsed, in the hand of Lord Cranborne: "*Sr. W. Ralegh.*"

## CXXXVI.

### TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 13 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXXVI. 1604.

To Lord Cranborne. [From the Tower.]

Change in Cranborne's behaviour towards him.—Injustice of his condemnation.—Personal affairs.—Appearance of the Plague in the Tower.—Desire of removal.

SINCE the tyme that my wife was last with your Lordshipe I have withered in body and mind. By whom I perceived a sad chang in your Lordship's favor towards mee, on which all my hopes have ever lived, and made mee live. Not for the discumfort of liberty only, but in that it pleased your Lordship to thinck that I had dealt ungratfully with yow since my trobels; which, as ther is a God, I never did, nor could so mich as thinck to do.

For the tymes past, whatsoever your Lordship hath conceived, I cannot thinck my sealf to have bynn ether an enemy, or such a viper, but that this great downfall of myne; this shame, loss, and sorrow; may seem to your Lordship's hart and sowle a sufficient punishment and revendg. And, if ther bee nothinge of so many years love and familiarety to lay in the other scale, O my God! how have my thoughts betrayd mee in[1] your Lordship's nature, compassion, and piety. For to dy in perpetuall prison I did not thinck that your Lordship could have wished to your strongest and most mallicious enemyes.

I know that Law, and Condemnation, ar formal[2] arguments to men of iron harts. But God, that must judg us all,—and extend infinit compassion towards all,

[1] '*of*' first written, and erased.

[2] Evidently used in the sense of "formidable."

LETTER CXXXVI.
1604.

or elce wee must all perish in the never ending sorrows to cum,—that God, when the sorrowfull night of death shall cum uppon us, will remember the cries and grones of the miserabell whom wee have suffred to perishe, not releived.

I have presumed at this tyme to remember your Lordship of my miserabell estate,—dayly, in danger of death by the palsey; nightly, of suffocation, by wasted and obstructed lungs. And now, the plaug being cum att the next dore unto mee, only the narrow passage of the way between. My poore child having lien this 14 dayes next to a wooman with a running plaug sore, and but a paper wall betwen,—and whose childe is also this Thursday dead of the plauge. So as now my wife and child, and others in whom I had cumfort, have abandoned me; and in what fearfull estate, the Lord knowes.

My most humble desire is to be removed elcewher, even to what place which God's goodness, and Charitey, shall move your Lordship's hart; that I be not left alone and remedeless, as well for this visitation as for other as lamentabell deseases which possess mee.

That I shall not ever acknowledg your Lordship's great and cumfortabell favors, God make yow know the contrary,—the same God that knowes that I was never farther from my Lord CECYLL, but that I would have sett my life between hyme and harme. God geve me cumfort as it is trew, and as I shall evermore be found gratfull in the highest degree; and remayne your Lordship's poore disconsolate

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord* CECYLL, *Vicount* CRANBORN, *&c.*

Endorsed by Lord Cecil: "1604. *Sir Walter Raleigh.*"

## CXXXVII.

### TO SECRETARY LORD. VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cv. § 50 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXXVII. —— 1604.

To Lord Cranborne. [From the Tower?]

Entreaty for the restoration of his landed estates.

I MIGHT feare that this my importunety might offend your Lordshipp, if I did not withall hope that the proportion of your Lordship's favor sett by for me cannot, by any weakness of this nature, be recalde, or cast back into that heape, out of which your Lordship taketh out,[1] to releive all men.

Thos seasons which honor and good fortune accumpany seeme but short, and steale from us unwares. But their tymes, whose days run out in misery only, appeare exceedinge longe and draw sloely to their end. Sorrow rydds the ass; Prosperitie the eagell.

That which makes me adventure to beseich your Lordship herein is the nireness of the terme, att which tyme the Kinges councell-in-law wilbe more busied and mich deerer; the bussness intricate and therfore dangerus in a careless hand. For my sealf, being unpardoned, I must wholy trust other mens consciences; wherin, howsoever the fathers deale, God knowes how the soonns may.

Besides, I have keipt my Steward[2] here ever since your Lordship's first cumfort geven mee,—a man whom I can better intreat then know how to reward. His

[1] '*out*' is thus repeated in original MS.

[2] John Shelbury (of whom, in relation to the conduct of the "intricate business" referred to in this letter, there is a curious anecdote recorded in Manningham's *Diary*, MS. Harl. 5353, fol. 43, verso. B. M.).

owne estate requiring his presence more then it doth my love,—as it hath pleased God to order it. All which I leve to your Lordship's goodness to valew, for whom Charitie only must finde out frinds.

Your Lordship's ever to serve yow,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER CXXXVII. 1604.

Addressed: "*To the right honorabell my singuler good Lord, the Vicount* CRANBORN, *&c.*"

Endorsed: "1604;" then, in Lord Cranborne's hand, "*Sir Walter Ralegh;*" and in another hand, "*To my Lord.*"

## 1605.

## CXXXVIII.

### TO SECRETARY THE EARL OF SALISBURY.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 9 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXXXVIII. 1605.

To the Earl of Salisbury. [From the Tower?]

Renewed entreaty for the preservation of his landed estates.

YOUR Lordshipp being now reddy to depart hence (and being otherwise imboldned by your Lordship's cumfortabell promises) makes me adventure once agayne to beseich yow to remember my long sute. I do not press your Lordship as doubtinge your Lordship's favor therin. My life had sauftie without your worde; and therfore no cause for me to doubt my land with it.

But it is trew: '*Dant animum ad loquendum liberè ultimæ miseriæ,*' and being into such estate brought, I lay before your Lordship the trew cause of my importunetis. The on is (which I speake in the presence and feare of God) that I am every second or third night in

LETTER CXXXVIII.
1605.

danger ether of suddayne death or of the loss of my lymes[1] and sense, being sume tyme two howres without feeling or motion of my hand and whole arm. I complayn not of it. I know it vayne, for ther is none that hath compassion therof. The other, that I shalbe made more then weary of my life by her crijng and bewayling who will return in post when shee heares of your Lordship's departure, and nothing don. Shee hath alreddy brought her eldest sonne in one hand and her sucking child in another, crijng out of her and their destruction; charging mee with unnaturall negligence,[2] and that having provided for myne own life I am without sense and compassion of theirs.

Thes torments, added to my desolate life,—receiving nothing but torments and wher I should look for sume cumfort, together with the consideration of my cruell destiney, my dayes and tymes worn out in sorrow and imprisonment,—is sufficient ether utterly to distract mee or to make mee curss the tyme that ever I was born into the world, and had a being; did I not hope that God wilbe pleased to accept thos misires of myne in this world for thos eternall sorrowes which my neglect of Hyme and offences agaynst Hyme have deserved.

I beseich your Lordship, even as you must one day begg cumfort from God and cry unto Hyme for His aboundant mercie, that yow wilbe pleased to spare the tyme, and to finishe and effect, in sume sort, your hart's intents toward me. If I could ether healp or blame their cries and impatience, I would, for my sealf, leve all to God and your Lordship. But, if your Lordship spare one thought toward this estate of myne, I cannot

[1] *limbs.*

[2] The allusion here is to the inadequate conveyance (for technical error) of the Sherborne estates. See Vol. I. chap. xxi.

but hope for sume happie end; which I leve to your Lordship's goodness to resolve of, and rest your most miserable creture to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER CXXXVII'. —— 1605.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lorde, the Lord Vicount* CRANBORN, *Earle of* SALLISBURY, *&c.*

Endorsed:

"1605. *Sir Walter Raleigh;*" and, in another hand, "*To my Lord.*"

## CXXXIX.

### TO THE EARL OF SALISBURY, LORD HIGH TREASURER.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cix. § 11 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER CXXXIX. —— 1605.

To the Earl of Salisbury. [From the Tower.]

Restoration of the Dorsetshire estates.—Terms of the re-grant in trust.

AS all my cumforts and sorrowes are in your Lordship's poure, so it pleaseth your Lordship to mixe them, though with a gentell hand.

My wife tolde mee that your Lordship had pleased to move his Majestie for Sherburne, and that his Majestie was graciously disposed toward the releife of her and her poore children. My thanckfullness I know your Lordship cannot valew. Thos bonds of debts are only layd up wher payment may be hoped for. But all dew from me I must leve to the world, to pay your Lordship withe a great part of the honor it hath to geve; and to God to allow for satisfied in your great accompt towards Hyme the compassion yow shew towards others. All men have one entrance into life, and a like going out. In the world, we live by glorie; in the heavens, by mercie. '*Prudentia humana mortalis, misericordia æterna.*'

LETTER CXXXIX.
1605.

Ther is nothing more trew then that the greatest prosperitie hath the greatest envie. And though wise men do not therfore neglect the blessings of God in this world, yet they carefully distinguish her two natures: the on, biting at Prosperitie it sealf, att what prise soever Vertue hath bought it; the other, at that poure[1] accumpanied with severitie, especially agaynst thos whom it hath sometyme loved, and are afterward become miserabell. '*Ea prosperitas maximè invidiosa est, in qua est asperitas; præcipuè in amicos afflictos ac miseros, ac in nostram potestatem redactos.*' For the plentie of happines is never decreased by imparting cumfort to others, wher God hath geven sufficient for both. How your Lordship may thinck that I acknowledg your Lordship's liberalitie to my sealf, I can no otherwise gess then by the continewance of your favor. To geve your Lordship farther assurance of my desire to honor your Lordship with all the pouers of my sowle, I find no other argument then trewth in my sealf, and uttered by thes emptie voyces which your Lordship's charitie pleaseth to accept.

For the sute it sealf, with which I have so often trobled your Lordship, as I must take most thanckfully what soever your Lordship shall vouchsauf to procure mee,—so, if the land be tied with a remaynder, a third of the valew is therby lost. Besids that neither can I have means to pay my debts (owing to Mr. VANLOR[2] and Sir J. SPILMAN £1300; and, as God liveth, as mich more elcewher; and the debt of the Wines alreddy assigned). Agayne, the Church of Sallisburie, which

[1] *power.*

[2] Peter Vanlore of London, an eminent Flemish merchant, who at this date had long been domiciled in England, and to whom one of Sir Walter's latest letters (on the fatal Guiana expedition) is addressed. See under '1616,' hereafter; Letter CLI.

LETTER CXXXIX. 1605.

hath no great estate, might therby loose £260 a yeere which I pay. For the King can be no man's tenant nor hold land of any vassall.

I did desire it free the rather, in hope to bargayn with your Lordship for it. For ther is no seat within the cumpass of your titells so fitt for your Lordship as that. And I will make it appere that your Lordship may save £10,000, in respect of building, imparking, and setling, elcewher.

It was once entayled uppon my brother's children. But I might have revoked it agayn, and ment it. I beseich your Lordship do me that grace as I may be therin no less free then heretofore. And if your Lordship do not find reason in my offer towards your sealf (my debts being payd), I protest before God I will then tie it, as your Lordship shall advise me or command mee. And, howsoever, I shall remayne your Lordships faithfull sarvant to the end,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Lord Vicount* CRANBORN, *Earl of* SALLYSBURIE, *&c.*

Endorsed: "1605. *Sir Walter Ralegh to my Lord.*"

## CXL.

## TO SIR ROBERT COTTON, BART.

From the Original. MS. COTTON, Julius C iii. fol. 311 (**British Museum**). Holograph. Mutilated.[1] Without date. Written during his imprisonment in the Tower; probably between the years 1605 and 1612.

*** The learned biographer of Cotton, Dr. Thomas Smith, has taken it for granted that Sir Walter Ralegh's object in

[1] The words printed within brackets I supply from a copy of the letter, which was made anterior to the fire at Ashburnham House.

addressing this letter to Sir R. Cotton was to obtain materials for the continuation of the *History of the World.* This may well have been so. It is, however, matter rather of conjecture than of proof. Sir Walter's object may have been that '*Brief History of England*' in particular, on which we know that he was also employed, whilst in the Tower. ". . . *Quorum hinc,*" writes Dr. Smith, when speaking of the great scholars whose studies Cotton had helped to promote,—"*carceris in Turre Londinensi pœnam luens, in Secunda* Universalis Historiæ *parte antiquitates Britannicas indagaturus, ut quosdam Codices tum typis impressos, tum manu exaratos, sibi utendos dare vellet* Cottonus, *literis petit.*" Cotton's answer is not extant. But his character is a sufficient assurance of its nature.

LETTER CXL.

After 1605?

To Sir Robert Cotton. [From the Tower.]

Requests the loan of various books of History.

SIR ROBERT COTTON,

IF yow have any of thes old books, or any manuscrips, wherin I cann reade any of our written antiquites, if yow pleas to lend them mee [[1] for a little while, I will s]wifly restore them; and thinck my sealf miche [behoulding unto yow; or, if yow have any old French hist]ory wherin our nation is mentioned, or any [else, in what language so]ever.

Your poore frind,

W. RALEGH.

Sigebert's *Cronikells.*[2]
Vincent's *Speculum historiale.*
Gervasius Tilesberius.[3]
Phillip: Bergomus.[4]

[1] See note on the preceding page.

[2] Sigeberti Gemblacensis Cœnobitæ *Chronicon, ab anno* 381 *ad annum* 1131.

[3] Gervasii Tilberiensis *De Imperio Romano, et Gottorum, Lombardorum, Brittonum, Francorum, Anglorumque regnis, Commentatio;* known also as *Otia Imperialia ad Ottonem IV. Imperatorem.*

[4] *Supplementum Chronicorum Orbis, ab initio Mundi ad annum* 1485; by James Philip Foresti, of Bergamo.

LETTER CXL. After 1605?

Natalis Talipes.[1]
Amand: Zirescens.
Caius Hondinius.
John Major, *De gestis Scotorum.*[2]
Lessabius of Herault.[3]
Alex. Evesham.[4]
*Brute Booke.*
*Cronikell of Teuxberry.*[5]
Peter de Icham.[6]

## 1608.

## CXLI.

### TO THE LORD TREASURER SALISBURY.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxx. § 36 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CXLI. 1607-1608. Jan. 29. To the Lord Treasurer Salisbury. [From the Tower.]

DOUBTING that something may be saydè unto your Lordshipe of my proceeding towching Sherburne, I humblie pray your Lordshipe to judg of me herein by the same goodnes and charitie which hath hitherto directed all your actions. For, that the graunt required of mee and others is indeed fearfull unto us, I cannot

[1] *Histoire de l'estat et république des Druides, &c.* Par Noël Taillepied. (Printed at Paris in 1585.)

[2] Probably but another title for the well-known *Historia Majoris Britanniæ, tam Angliæ quam Scotiæ.*

[3] *Chronicon Universale*, attributed (on very doubtful authority) to James Lessabé, a Fleming, who flourished in the earlier part of the sixteenth century.

[4] Perhaps *Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis . . . à fundatione ad annum* 1213.

[5] *Annales Monasterii de Theokesberia, ab anno* 1066 *ad annum* 1263. MS. Cott. Cleopatra, A vii.

[6] *Chronica de regibus Angliæ, . . . à tempore Bruti usque ad annum* 1301. MS. Cott. Dom. iii. 1. In the original, Ralegh's list of books is put at the top of his letter.

LETTER CXLI.

1607-1608. Jan. 29.

On a proposed Conveyance of his Sherborne estate to the King.

deny: because wee therin pass unto His Majestie those things which are out of our powre to performe, and wherby those that joyne with mee do not only inthrale their own estates, but my wife and sonn therby forfeat their anuetie. For if those that never had fee simple graunt a fee simple; if wee covenant to graunt all the lands free and unstated; if wee also binde ourselves to deliver all writings, evidences, court-roles, &c.—which wee never had,—wee do presently fayle, and fall under I know not how many inconveniences, dangers, and trobles; and from which the proviso offred doth no way deliver us.

I protest before the majestie of God that I deale cleerly in this busenes, and that as I have alreddy delivered many things for the good of the Lord that shalbe, so will I make it appeere that I will reserve nothing in my knowledg that may assure those lands to the propriator. Only this mich I humblie desire that, as I would be gladd never to heere the place named henceforth, so in parting from it, I might also part from all future troble and vexation concerning it; and that for those bonds and covenants entred into for the injoying of estates and anueties by me and mine, I may be with them which have dealt for mee freely and cleerly discharged. I mean for such and no other as do appeare just, and are found by the last survey.

And if it shall please your Lordshipe to be advised by mee heerein, I thinck it farr better that such a graunt be devised for us to signe, so indifferent and equall, as that the same shall not hold any dispute in Parlement, then that the parties which joyne with mee therin shall seeke to bee releived in that great court, and so their desires retarded which would be gladd of a free passage and expedition.

LETTER CXLI.

1607-1608. Jan. 29.

For the rest, if Mr. THELWAL have told your Lordshipe that hee found unwillingnes in me to bee att any charg for the patents, it is trew that I prayd him that all might come free unto us, but my meaning was for the future. For this charg is not great, and in lew therof I am content (because it cannot be otherwise) to yeild so mich longer time to the farmers of Custome as the interest would amownt to £40. For as ther is demanded above tenn pound for the tallies, so do the officers tell us that the fees going out of the £400 wilbe att the least £20 yeerly, which, if wee had had a lease of land, would have bine saved, and to which I would have held my sealf, had I not feared your Lordshipes construction that I sought delay and a prolongation of the busenes. But in all these I submit my sealf to your Lordship's charitie, and rest your humble sarvant,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my singuler good Lord, the Earle of* SALSBURIE, *Lord Treasorer of Ingland, &c.*

Endorsed, in Lord Salisbury's hand: "*29th Ja.* 1607. *Sir Walter Raleigh.*" The date of the endorsement is, of course, according to legal style, viz. 1607-1608.

## 1609.

## CXLII.

### ? TO JOHN SHELBURY, STEWARD OF THE MANOR OF SHERBORNE.

From the Original? *Domestic Correspondence:* James I. vol. xliii. § 6 (**Rolls House**). Apparently, Holograph?

*** I insert this letter—but not without some hesitation—because it is calendared at the Rolls House as a genuine

document. There are several difficulties about it; arising rather from the contents than from any peculiarities of the writing, although these, also, are observable. On the subject-matter, the reader is referred to Vol. I. chap. xxi. He may also be reminded that Ralegh stated on one occasion, in relation to lawsuits about Sherborne, that Meeres was so expert a forger as to be able, for a moment, to put him into doubt as to what he (Ralegh) had, or had not, himself written with his own hand.

LETTER CXLII.
1608-1609. Jan. 3.
To John Shelbury. [From the Tower.]
Lease to J. Meeres, of Bishop's Down, near Sherborne.

JOHN SHELBURY,

I PRAY give JOHN MEERES a promis under your hand to make him a good and perfect lease of all Bishops Down, so soun as it shalbe known to whom the land doth belong, which I will that you performe unto him freely and without all question or cavill; and this shalbe your sufficient warrant. Written this 3 of Jan$^{y}$ 1608.

W. RALEGH.

## CXLIII.

### TO SIR ROBERT CARR (AFTERWARDS EARL OF SOMERSET).

From a nearly contemporaneous copy in MS. Addit. 4106, fol. 81 (**British Museum**). In another copy of this Letter (MS. HARLEIAN 6908, fol. 4), the following date is added: 'From the Tower. Jan. 2, 1608.'

LETTER CXLIII.
1609?
To Sir Robert Carr. [From the Tower.]

SIR,

AFTER manye great losses, and manye yeares sorrowes, of both which I have cause to feare I was mistaken in ther endes, it is come to my knowledge that yourself (whom I knowe not, but by an honorable fame) have bene persuaded to geve me and myne our last fatall blowe, by obtayninge from his Majestie the inheritaunce of my children and nephewes, lost in law for

LETTER CXLIII.
1609?
Written on receiving intelligence that Carr had obtained a grant of the Sherborne estate.

want of wordes. This done, ther remayneth nothinge with me but the bare name of lief, dispoyled of all els but the tythe[1] and sorrowe therof. His Majestie, whom I never offended (for I ever helde yt both unnaturall and unmanlye to hate goodnes), stayed me at the grave's brincke; not, as I hope, that his Majestie thought me worthye of manye deathes and to beholde all myne cast out of the worlde with my selfe; but as a Kynge who, judginge the poore in truthe, hath retayned a promyse from God that his throne shalbe established for ever.

And for yourselfe, Sir, seinge your daye is but now in the dawne, and myne come to the eveninge,—your own vertues and the King's grace assuringe you of manye good fortunes and muche honor,—I beseich you not to begynne your first buildings upon the ruyns of the innocent; and that ther greifes and sorrowes doe not attende your first plantacion. I have bene bounden to your nation, as well for many other graces as for the true reporte of my tryall to the Kings Majestie; against whom, had I been found malignant, the hearinge of my cause woulde not have chaunged enemyes into freindes, malice into compassion, and the greatest number present into a commiseracion of mine estate. It is not the nature of foule treasons to begett such fayre passions; neyther woulde it agree with the duetye and love of faythfull subjectes (especiallye of your nation) to bewayle his overthrowe who had conspyred against ther most liberall and naturall Lorde. I therfore trust, Sir, that you will not be the first that will kyll us outright, cutt downe the tree with the fruyte, and undergoe the curse of them that enter into the fieldes of the fatherles; —the which (yf it please you to knowe the truthe) are

[1] So in MS., but probably an error of the transcriber.

LETTER CXLIII. [1609?]

farre lesse fruitfull in value then in fame; and that soe worthie a gentleman as yourselfe will rather bynde us to your service, beinge, Sir, gentlemen, not base in burth or allyance, who have interest therin. And my selfe with the uttermost thankfulnes will ever remayne readye to obey your commaundments,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the honorable and worthye knight, Sir* ROBERT CARR, *at the Courte.*

## 1610.

## CXLIV.

### TO SIR WALTER COPE.

As communicated to the Society of Antiquaries (June 2, 1853), by Mr. J. PAYNE COLLIER, from the Original, then in the possession of Mr. WILLOUGHBY, of Lancaster Place, London. (*Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. pp. 219, 220.)

LETTER CXLIV. 1610? Oct. 9. To Sir W. Cope. [From the Tower.] Requesting his intercession for leave to Lady Ralegh to return to the Tower.

SIR WALTER COPE,

YOU are of my old acquayntance, and were my familiar frind for many yeeres, in which time I hope you cannot say that ever I used any unkind office towards you. But our fortunes are now changed, and it may be in your power greatly to bynde me unto you, if the bynding of a man in my estate be worth anything. My desire unto you is, that you wilbe pleased to move my Lord Treasorer in my behalf, that by his grace my wife might agayne be made a prisoner with me, as she hath bine for six yeeres last past. Shee being now divided from me, and thereby, to my great impoverishing, I am driven to keip to[1] howses. A

[1] *two.*

LETTER CXLIV.
1610?
Oct. 9.

miserable fate it is, and yet great to me, who, in this wretched estate, can hope for no other thing than peacible sorrow. It is now, and I call the Lord of all power to wittnes yt, I ever have bine, and am resolved that it was never in the worthey hart of Sir ROBERT CECYLL (whatsoever a Counceler of State and a Lord Treasorer of Ingland must do) to suffer me to fall, mich less to perrish. For what soever termes it hath pleased his Lordship to use towards mee, which might utterly dispaire any bodie else, yet I know that he spake them as a Counceler, sitting in Councill, and in company of such as would not otherwise have bine satisfied.

But, as God liveth, I would have bought his presence att a farr deerer rate than those sharp words and these three moneths close imprissonment, for it is in his Lordship's face and countenance that I behold all that remaynes to me of comfort and all the hope I have, and from which I shall never be beaten till I see the last of evills and the dispayre which hath no healp. The blessings of God cannot make him cruell that was never so, nor prosperitie teach any man of so great worth to delight in the endles adversitie of an enemie, mich less of him who in his very sowle and nature can never be such a one towards him.

Sir, the matter is of no great importance (though a cruell destinie hath made it so to me) to desire that my wife may live with me in this unsavery place. If by your mediation I may obtayne it, I will acknowledg it in the highest degree of thankfullness; and rest reddy in trew fayth to be commanded by you,

W. RALEGH.

October the 9 [1610?].

## CXLV.

### TO HENRY, PRINCE OF WALES.

As printed, in 1656-1657, in the Collection entitled *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh.* Without subscription, signature, or date.

LETTER CXLV.

1610?

To Prince Henry. [From the Tower.]

Plans for building a war-ship.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,

IF the ship your Highness intends to build be bigger than the *Victorie*, then her beams which are laid overthwart from side to side will not serve again, and many other of her timbers and other stuff will not serve; whereas if she be a size less, the timber of the old ship will serve well to the building of a new. If she be bigger, she will be of less use, go very deep to water, and of mighty charge,—our channels decaying every year; less nimble; less manyable; and seldom to be used. "*Grande navio, grande fatica,*" saith the Spaniard.

A ship of six hundred tuns will carrie as good ordinance as a ship of twelve hundred tuns; and where the greater hath double her ordinance, the less will turn her broadside twice before the great ship can wind once, and so no advantage in that overplus of guns. The lesser will go over clear, where the greater shall stick and perish; the lesser will come and go; leave or take; and is yare; whereas the greater is slow, unmanyable, and ever full of encumber. In a well conditioned ship these things are chiefly required:—

(1.) That she be strong built;—(2.) Swift in sail;—(3.) Stout-sided;—(4.) That her ports be so laid, as she may carry out her guns all

LETTER CXLV.

1610?

weathers;—(5.) That she hull and trie well;—(6.) That she stay well, when boarding or turning on a wind, is required.

To make her strong, consisteth in the care and truth of the workman; to make her swift, is to give her a large run or way forward, and so afterward,—done by art and just proportion; and that in laying out of her bowes before, and quarters behind, the shipwright be sure that she neither sink nor hang into the water, but lie clear and above it; wherein shipwrights do often fail, and then is the speed in sailing utterly spoiled.

That she be stout-sided, the same is provided by a long bearing-floar, and by shaving off from above waters to the lower edge of the ports; which done, then will she carry out her ordnance all weathers.

To make her to hull and to trie well,—which is called a good sea-ship,—there are two things principally to be regarded: the one, that she have a good draught of water; the other, that she be not overcharged. And this is seldom done in the King's ships; and therefore we are forced to lye, or trie, in them with our main course and mizzen; which, with a deep keel, and standing streak, she would perform.

The extream length of a ship makes her unapt to stay, especially if she be floatie, and want sharpnesse of way, forward. And it is most true, that such overlong ships are fitter for the Narrow Seas, in summer, than for the Ocean, or long voyages; and therefore, an hundred foot by the keel, and thirtie-five foot broad, is a good proportion for a great ship.

It is to be noted, that all ships sharp before, not having a long floar, will fall rough into the sea from a billow, and take in water over head and ears; and the

LETTER CXLV.
1610?

same quality have all narrow-quartered ships to sink after the tail. The high charging of ships is that that brings many ill qualities; it makes them extream lee-ward, makes them sink deep into the seas, makes them labour sore in foul weather, and ofttimes overset. Safety is more to be respected than shews, or nicenesse for ease; in sea journeys, both cannot well stand together; and therfore the most necessary is to be chosen.

Two decks and a half is enough, and no building at all above that, but a low master's cabbin. Our masters and mariners will say, that the ships will bear more well enough; and true it is, if none but ordinary mariners served in them. But men of better sort, unused to such a life, cannot so well endure the rowling and tumbling from side to side, where the seas are never so little grown, which comes by high charging. Besides those high cabbin works aloft are very dangerous in fight, to tear men with their splinters.

Above all other things, have care that the great guns be four foot clear above water, when all lading is in; or else, these best pieces are idle at sea: for if the ports lie lower and be open, it is dangerous, and by that default was a goodly ship, and many gallant gentlemen, lost in the days of Henry the Eigth, before the Isle of Wight, in a ship called by the name of *Mary Rose.*

## CXLVI.

### TO QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

From a contemporaneous transcript in MS. HARLEIAN, xxxix. fol. 359 (**British Museum**). Without address and undated.

LETTER CXLVI.

1610?

To Queen Anne of Denmark. [From the Tower.]

Proposals for the colonization of Virginia.

THE same blessinge which God doth contynewe towards your Majestie will, I hope, put your Majestie in minde of your charritie towards otheres. I long since presumed to offer your Majestie my service in Virginia, with a shorte repetition of the comoditie, honor, and safetye which the King's Majestie might reape by that plantacion, yf it were followed to effecte. I doe still hombly beseech your Majestie that I may rather die in serving the Kinge and my countrey then to perrish here.

I did also presume hertofore to set downe my answeres to all objectyones that could be made, to wit, that yf I wente not by a day sett that I would forfete my life and estate; that I wold leave my wife and two sonnes pleadges for my faith, and that my wife shall yeald herself to death, yf I performe not my duty to the Kinge. And yf this suffice not, that it may be tould the masteres and marrineres that transporte me that yf I offer to saile elsewhere that they may caste me into the Sea.

But were ther nothinge ells, let your Majestie, I beseech you, be resolved that it shall never be said of me that the Queen of England gave her worde for this man; that the Queen tooke him out of the hands of Death; that he, like a villaine and perjured slave, hath betrayde so worthy a princes, and hath brokene his faithe. Noe, Maddam, as God lyveth, ther is no bonnd, noe, not the lose of 20 sonnes, cane tye me so faste as the memory of

LETTER CXLVI. —— 1610?

your goodnes, and ther is neither death nor life that cane allewre me or feare me from the performance of my duty to sōe worthie and charritable a Lady.

This I knowe your Majestie may effecte for me, and the sooner, if you please to engage your worde for me to the Earle of Salesbury. And yf your Majestie thinke me worthie of life, or that I have any bloud of a gentleman in me, I beseech you vouchsaife it; and your Majestie shall never repente you or receave lose by your goodnes towards me, from whose reverence and service no power but that of God by death shall ever seperat, but that I will ever rest

Your most humble vassall,

W. RALEGHE

Headed, by the transcriber:

*The Letter written by Sir Walter Raleghe to Queen Anne the ... anno* 16..

## 1611.

## CXLVII.

### TO QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF KING JAMES THE FIRST.

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* James I. (Rolls House.)

LETTER CXLVII. —— [1611.]

To Queen Anne of Denmark. [From the Tower.]

I DID lately presume to send unto your Majestie the coppie of a letter written to my Lord Treasorer, towching Guiana; that ther is nothing done therin I could not but wonnder with the world, did not the mallice of the world exceede the wisedome thereof. In mine owne respect, the ever living God doth witness that I never sought such an imployment, for all the gold in the earth could not invite me to travell after miserie and death,

LETTER CXLVII.

[1611.]

Proposals for an expedition to Guiana.

both which I had bine likeler to have overtaken in that voyage, than to have returned from it; but the desire that ledd me was the approving of my fayth to His Majestie, and to have done him such a service as hath seildome bine performed for any King. But, most excellent Princes, although His Majestie do not so mich love him self for the present as to accept of that riches which God hath offred him, therby to take all presumption from his enemies, arising from the want of treasor, by which (after God) all States are defended, yet it may be that His Majestie will consider more deiply therof hereafter, if not to late, and that the dissolution of his humble vassall do not preceede His Majesties resolution therin. For my extreeme shortnes of breath doth grow so fast on me, with the dispaire of obtayning so mich grace to walke with my keeper up the hill within the Tower; as it makes me resolve that God hath otherwise disposed of that busenes, and of me; who, after eyght yeers imprissonment, am as strayghtly lockt up as I was the first day, and the punishment dew to other mens extreame negligence layd altogether uppon my patience and obedience. In which respect (most worthy Princes) it were a sute farr more fitting the hardnes of my destinie (who every day suffer, and am subject every day to suffer, for other mens offences) rather to desire to dye, once for all, and therby to give end to the miseries of this life, than to strive against the ordinance of God, who is a trew judge of my innocencie towards the King, and doth know me

For your Majesties most humble
and most bound vassall,
W. RALEGH.

Addressed:
*To the Queens most excellent Majestie.*

1612.

## PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXLVIII.—*PROPOSALS FOR THE GUIANA VOYAGE IN* 1612.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXLVIII.

1612?

THE original of the letter which follows is not now known to exist. The Harleian copy bears no address; but is headed (with an obvious inaccuracy) "*Agreement* betwen Sir Walter Raleigh and the Lords for the Journey of Guiana, to be performed by Captain Keemish, in 1611." It is plain, on the face of the document itself, that it is a letter tending towards an 'agreement' for such a voyage, and that there had been much negotiation about the terms. It is also plain, from subsequent evidence, that the obstacles in the way proved to be, at that time, irremovable, and that no definite agreement was come to. The date assigned to this transaction is also questionable. It appears to have been founded merely upon a misconception of the words "sixteen years since." Those words, however, do not apply to anything that occurred in Ralegh's own voyage of 1595, but to an incident of Keymis' voyage, in 1596. Did no allusion to any date occur in the letter itself, the probabilities of the case would tend to assign to it the date of 1612, rather than that of 1611; inasmuch as there are several expressions in other letters of Ralegh, relating to Guiana, which imply that during the life of the Lord Treasurer Salisbury none of Sir Walter's many attempts to obtain a resumption of the enterprise attained so nearly to apparent success as did that which is the subject of the present letter. Salisbury died in May 1612; just "sixteen years" after that voyage of Keymis to which reference is here made. One or two sentences of the letter may be thought to suggest that it was addressed to certain peers who purposed to be 'joint-adventurers' in the new enterprise, rather than to the Privy Council collectively. On the other hand, there

are also expressions which seem applicable to the Council alone, in its governing capacity.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CXLVIII. 1612?

This letter was, I believe, first referred to by the late Mr. Napier in his article '*Sir Walter Raleigh*,' published in the seventy-first volume of the *Edinburgh Review*. It was first printed, in full, by the late Sir Robert Schomburgk, in an appendix to his excellent edition of Ralegh's *Discovery of Guiana*, printed in 1848. In Sir Robert's copy there are some slight verbal inaccuracies.

The "former letter" addressed to the same Lords, to which Ralegh refers in the last paragraph but one, is not now known to exist in any shape,—original or copy. Elsewhere, there are references to other Guiana letters which are not now discoverable. There is evidence, too, that Sir Joseph Jekyll, Master of the Rolls, once possessed, in his private library, a MS. volume described as containing "*Several letters wrote by Sir W. Rawleigh in relation to Guiana, subscribed by his own hand.*" The volume thus described was sold by auction in London in 1739. It is probable, however,—the Sale Catalogue notwithstanding,—that these letters were but copies. Sir Joseph Jekyll would scarcely have left such a volume to the chances of loss, had the documents been really originals.

## CXLVIII.

## TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL?

From a nearly contemporaneous transcript in MS. HARL. xxxix. ff. 350, 351 (**British Museum**).

LETTER CXLVIII. 1612?

YOUR Lordshipps, as I remember, did offer to be att the charge to transport KEEMISH into Guyana with such a proportion of men in twoe shipps as should be able to defend him against the Spaniards inhabiting upon

LETTER CXLVIII.

1612

To the Lords of the Council? [From the Tower.]

Proposals for a voyage, by Keymis, to Guiana.

Orenocke, if they offered to assaile him (not that itt is meant to offend the Spaniards there, or to beginne any quarrell with them, except themselves shall beginne the warre).

To knowe what number of men shall be sufficient, may itt please your Lordshipps to informe your selves by Captain MOATE, a servant of Sir JOHN WATTS[1] who came from Orenoke this last spring, and was oftentimes ashore att St. Thome, where the Spaniards inhabite, which numbers made knowne to your Lordshipps and to the captaines which you shall please to imploy with KEEMISH, those captaines shall be able to judge with what force they will undertake to secure KEEMISHES passage to the Mine, which is not above five miles from the navigable river, taking the neerest way.

Now your Lordshipps doe require of mee that if KEEMISH live to arrive, and shall then faile to bringe into England halfe a tunne, or as much more as he shall be able to take upp of that slate gold ore whereof I gave a sample to my Lord KNEVETT,[2] that then all the charge of the journey shall be laid upon mee and by mee to be satisfied, whereto I willingly consent. And though itt be a difficult matter—of exceeding difficulty—for any man to find the same acre of ground againe in a country desolate and overgrowne which he hath seene but once, and that sixteene yeares since (which were hard enough to doe upon Salisbury Plaine), yett that your Lordshipps may be satisfied of the truth I am contented to adventure all I have, but my reputacion, upon KEEMISHE'S memory; hoping that itt may be acceptable to the Kings Majestie and to your Lordshipps soe to doe, con-

[1] A well-known and very enterprising "Merchant Adventurer" of the period. (See LETTER XX. pp. 43, 44.)

[2] Thomas Knyvett, Lord Knyvett of Escrick.

sidering that if KEEMISH misse of his marks my poore estate is utterly overthrowne, and my wife and children as utterly beggared.

LETTER CXLVIII. 1612?

Now, that there is noe hope, after this tryall made, to fetch any more riches from thence, I have already given your Lordshipps my reasons in my former letter, and am ready upon a mappe of the country to make demonstracion thereof, if itt shall please your Lordshipps to give me leave. But to the King's Majesties wisdome and your Lordshipps' I submitt my selfe.

But that which your Lordshipps doe promise is that halfe a tunne of the former oare being brought home, then I shall have my libertie, and in the meane while my free pardon, under the greate seale, to be left in his Majesties hands till the end of the journey.

[*Both the subscription and the address are wanting.*]

## 1616.

## CXLIX.

### TO SECRETARY SIR RALPH WINWOOD.

As printed, in 1656-1657, in the Collection entitled *Remains of Sir W. Raleigh.*

HONOURED SIR,

LETTER CXLIX. 1615-1616? January? To Sir R. Winwood. [From the Tower.]

I WAS lately perswaded by two gentlemen, my ancient friends, to acquaint your Honour with some offers of mine made heretofore for a journey to Guiana, who were of opinion, that it would be better understood now, than when it was first propounded; which advice having surmounted my dispair, I have presumed to send unto your Honour the copies of those letters which I then wrote, both to his Majestie and to the Treasurer

LETTER CXLIX.

1615-1616? January?

Proposals for the resumption of the Guiana enterprise.

CECILL, wherein as well the reasons that first moved me are remembered, as the objections by him made are briefly answered.

What I know of the riches of that place, not by hearsay, but what mine eyes have seen, I have said it often, but it was then to no end: because those that had the greatest trust were resolved not to believe it;—not because they doubted the truth, but because they doubted my disposition towards themselves, where[1] (if God had blessed me in the enterprise) I had recovered his Majesties favour and good opinion. Other cause than this, or other suspicion, they never had any. Our late worthy Prince of WALES was extream curious in searching out the nature of my offences; the Queen's Majesty hath informed her self from the beginning; the King of DENMARK, at both times of his being here, was throughly satisfied of my innocencie; they would otherwise never have moved his Majestie on my behalf.

The wife, the brother, and the son of a King do not use to sue for men suspect; but, Sir, since they all have done it out of their charitie, and but with reference to me alone, your Honour (whose respect hath onely relation to his Majesties service), strengthened by the example of those princes, may with the more hardnesse do the like, being princes to whom his Majesty's good estate is no lesse dear, and all men that shall oppugne it no lesse hatefull, then to the King himself.

It is true, Sir, that his Majestie hath sometimes answered, that his Councel knew me better than he did; meaning some two or three of them; and it was indeed my infelicitie. For had his Majesty known me, I had never been here where I now am; or had I known his Majestie, they had never been so long there where they

[1] Here used in the sense of "*in case that*," or "*in the event that*."

LETTER CXLIX.

1615-1616? January?

now are. His Majestie not knowing of me, hath been my ruine; and his Majestie misknowing of them, hath been the ruine of a goodly part of his estate: but they are all of them now—some living and some dying—come to his Majesties knowledge. But, Sir, how little soever his Majestie knew me, and how much soever he believed them, yet have I been bound to his Majestie both for my life, and all that remains, of which, but for his Majestie, nor life, nor ought else, had remained. In this respect, Sir, I am bound to yield up the same life, and all I have for his Majesties service. To die for the King, and not by the King, is all the ambition I have in the world.

WALTER RALEGH.

## CL.

## TO SIR GEORGE VILLIERS, AFTERWARDS DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

As printed by OLDYS, from the Original, then in the Library of JAMES WEST. (*Life*, p. 468.)

LETTER CL.

1615-1616. March 17.

To Sir George Villiers.

Thanks for procuring his release from the Tower.

SIR,

YOU have, by your mediation, put me again into the world. I can but acknowledge it, for to pay any part of your favour by any service of mine, as yet it is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good part of the honour shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall show myself exceeding ungrateful.

In the mean while, and until God discover the success, I beseech you to reckon me among the number of your faithful servants, though the least able,

March 17 [1615—1616]. W. RALEGH.

## CLI.

### TO PETER VANLORE.

As printed, by OLDYS, from a copy made by BROWNE WILLIS of "the original draft of Sir WALTER'S own hand," then in WILLIS' Library at Whaddon Hall. That original draft is stated to have borne the following endorsement:—"This letter was shewn unto MATHIAS PENEWART, at thetime of his examination, on the part and behalf of Sir PETER VANLORE, knight, Defendant, against Dame ELIZABETH RALEGH, widow, Complainant, 12° Junii, 1623. Signed 'MARTIN BASILL.'" Willis, it will be seen, has modernised the spelling. Sir Peter Vanlore was an eminent merchant in London. Of his suit with Lady Ralegh some notice has been already given.

LETTER CLI.

1616. July 1.

To Peter Vanlore; with a form of letter to be written by Vanlore to Amsterdam, for information about Guiana.

MR. PETER VANLORE,

THIS is the letter which I desire you to write to your brother in Amsterdam; and for any assurance you shall give I will again put you in sureties to save you harmless,

W. RALEGH.

July 1, 1616.

'Brother TIBOTES,[1]

'There is a merchant in Amsterdam that, 'for the love he bears to my honourable friend 'Sir WALTER RALEGH, is content to discover 'somewhat of importance unto him in Guiana, 'to which country Sir WALTER RALEGH is now 'preparing to go; but he doth require assurance 'from Sir WALTER RALEGH that he himself 'may be assured to enjoy such part of the 'commodity discovered as he shall agree upon

[1] Sir Adrian Thibaut, a merchant at Amsterdam, apparently brother-in-law to Vanlore.

LETTER CLI.

1616. July 1.

'with Sir WALTER RALEGH by his deputy, Mr. 'HENRY HOVENAR. I do therefore pray you 'to speak with the party which Mr. HOVENAR 'will bring unto you, and to know what assur- 'ances he will require, which, to pleasure Sir 'WALTER, I shall be willing to give; that is 'to say, to give him assurance that upon Sir 'WALTER'S return into England, the charges 'being deducted, the discoverer shall receive 'from Sir WALTER such part of the said mer- 'chandise as Sir WALTER and he shall agree 'on; although there needs no such assurance to 'be given, because His Majesty doth assure all 'Sir WALTER'S partners, by the great seal of 'England, that they shall truly and quietly 'enjoy all their parts and shares of what goods, 'merchandise, or treasure soever, shall be re- 'turned; out of which great seal of England 'the discoverer shall have an assignment for so 'much as belongs unto him, to be delivered 'here in London to whomsoever he shall appoint 'to receive it.'[1]

1 "Such as thought to find some great deceit in me in the detaining a great part of the monies adventured, in perusing the Bills of Adventure written by scriveners found above fifteen thousand pounds more than all my charge demanded came unto. But of the money I never received any penny. The monies and provisions adventured with all the other captains amounted to very nearly twenty thousand pounds; for the greatest part whereof I gave the Bills."—*Apology for the Voyage to Guiana;* in *Works* of Sir WALTER RALEGH, ed. Oxford, vol. viii. p. 481.

1617.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLII.—*RALEGH AND THE 'CONSEIL D'ETAT' OF FRANCE.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLII.

1617.

ALL that is yet known of the letter which purports to have been addressed by Sir Walter Ralegh to M. de Bisseaux is due to Mr. Gardner's recent researches at Simancas. Primarily, it rests upon the authority of the story told at Madrid by a Frenchman, named Antoine Belle, who was examined by the Spanish functionaries in that city, on his voluntarily presenting himself (in May 1618) to give information against Ralegh, in accordance with the advice given him in Rome by a Jesuit confessor. Belle told the Spaniards that he and "Captain Faire" (who is called "Faige" in the letter itself, and "Sage" in the letters and examinations addressed by Sir Thomas Wilson to King James) were Ralegh's "intimate friends;" that he, Belle, had known Ralegh for six or seven years, "having had communication with him in London, in the prison in which he was confined." He stated that the first messenger sent by Sir Walter into France was Captain Faige; that by Faige the answer to that first despatch was brought to his employer, "at the Wight;" and that the purport of the embassy was to ask the Admiral Montmorency to intercede with the King of France for the grant to Sir Walter Ralegh of a decree permitting him, at his return, to enter the French ports, and giving assurance that he "might be received with favour and affection."

Belle then proceeds to state, in the course of this extremely remarkable "voluntary declaration," that he embarked with Ralegh in London, and that on reaching Plymouth he and Faige were sent, in company, with further despatches to the Admiral Montmorency, and with this letter to De Bisseaux. The Admiral answered, he continues, that he was "urging Sir

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLII.
1617.

Walter's business with the King of France." Of the answer of De Bisseaux, Belle says nothing. Nor does he explain how it happened that a letter dated *by Ralegh*, "Plemouht, ce 14 May, 1616," and sent into France by two "intimate friends" of the writer, came to be shown in Rome, in the original, to a Jesuit confessor, in 1618; and to be brought thence to Madrid, —on its way to the archives of Simancas. Mr. Gardner's voucher is conclusive for the apparent genuineness of the document itself, upon its face. His knowledge of the history of the period is great; and his inferences founded on that knowledge carry authority. But it is no less obvious that the story told by the bearer of the document stands much in need of further elucidation. Both Belle and his companion, Faige, left Ralegh, as the former of them says, at Plymouth, after returning thither with Montmorency's answer,—"*because they did not wish to go with people who were Huguenots.*" To Sir Walter himself they represented that they "were going to Dieppe and Havre, to meet other captains, who were arming ships." When examined at Madrid, Belle deposed that he parted from his comrade Faige *at Genoa*, leaving him "sick, and imprisoned, on account of some money which he owed." The Spanish magistrates reported to the Council of State that Belle himself was very poor, "and would be glad of fifty or a hundred ducats, to get home to France." And the Council ordered him to be paid the sum last-named.

Mr. Gardner adds to his most interesting narrative of the incidents of Belle's examination, which I have thus briefly epitomized, the significant fact that the examinant produced, not only the original letter to De Bisseaux and one of Ralegh's Guianian charts, but also (1) a transcript of the original instructions to Faige—undated and unsigned, but initialled—in which Sir Walter expressed his "wish to take refuge in France for the singular and natural affection which he bears to the King and State; wishing to serve them with his talents and experience;" and (2) a Declaration by Montmorency, engaging himself to obtain the King of France's permission

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLII.
1617.

for Ralegh to enter a French seaport "*avec tous ses ports, navires, équipages, et biens, par luy traités ou conquis.*"

Probably, any thorough elucidation of this strange episode in a career teeming with marvels is reserved for the fortunate explorer, hereafter, of those of the Count of Gondomar's original despatches from London which are preserved in the private library of the Queen of Spain, at Madrid. At Simancas, there are but secretarial minutes of his despatches—perhaps, only of some of them—made for the use of the King and his Council. The "minutes," as it seems, add very little to what was known already, from other sources.

With how much of cautious scrutiny *Spanish* evidence about Ralegh's doings—or about those of any of our great Elizabethan worthies—should be received, there can be little need to show to the readers of these Letters. Nor ought it to be forgotten that Spanish ignorance of England, at this period—like English ignorance of Spain—was quite as fruitful a cause of mutual error, as could possibly be Spanish enmity to England or English enmity to Spain.

## CLII.

### TO M. DE BISSEAUX, MEMBER OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE OF FRANCE.

As printed by Mr. S. R. GARDNER (from a MS. at Simancas), in *Fortnightly Review*, vol. vii. (May 1867).

LETTER CLII.
1617. May 14.
To M. de Bisseaux. From Plymouth.

MONSIEUR,

ESTANT sur le point de faire voile, j'ay entendu le heureux changement des afaires de France que me donne beaucoup d'espérance et de courage; m'assurant que le party Espagnol ne sera pas si-après si puissant; et qui m'a occasionné renvoyer par devers vous mon fidelle amy le Cappitaine FAIGE, avec ample com-

mission de conduire certains navires promis, et autres qui desireront avoir part à ma fortune, et luy ay assigné le temps et les places ou il me doibt trouver aux Indes; et cepandant je travailleay aux mines, que, si je les treuve suffisantes et telles que je desire, il vous dira la resolution que j'ay prinse, la luy ayant confiée il y a longtemps, laquelle j'espère me reusiya au contentment de ceux qui me font l'honneur de m'armer. C'est pourquoy je vous prie de donner au present gentilhomme la mesme croyance que autre foys, et l'assister pour obtenir le brevet qui m'est promis par celuy qu'il m'a aporté et lequel je retiens par devers moy; toutes foys remettant le tout à vostre prudence de voyr si le temps le permet. Ce que atendant je vous conjure de croyre que vous pouves et pourres à jamais disposer de moy, comme de vostre très humble et affectionne serviteur,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER CLII.
1617. May 14.
Proposals respecting the Guiana Voyage.—Application for a French commission.

De *Plemouht*, ce 14 May, 1616, *ancien stille.*

*** To his copy of this letter Mr. GARDNER adds the following note:—"The date, with its mistake of '1616' for '1617,' *is in Ralegh's handwriting*, as is the signature."

## CLIII.

## TO LADY RALEGH.

As printed, in 1656-1657, in the Collection entitled *Remains of Sir Walter Raleigh.*

SWEET HEART,

I CAN yet write unto you but with a weak hand, for I have suffered the most violent calenture, for fifteen days, that ever man did, and lived: but God that gave

LETTER CLIII.
1617. Nov. 14.

LETTER CLIII.

1617. Nov. 14.

To Lady Ralegh. From Caliana, in Guiana.

Particulars of his disastrous voyage.—Bayly's desertion.—Numerous deaths among his officers.

me a strong heart in all my adversities, hath also now strengthened it in the hell-fire of heat.

We have had two most grievous sicknesses in our ship, of which fourtie-two have died, and there are yet many sick; but having recovered the land of Guiana, this 12 of November, I hope we shall recover them. We are yet two hundred men; and the rest of our fleet are reasonably strong;—strong enough, I hope, to perform what we have undertaken; if the diligent care at London to make our strength known to the Spanish king by his ambassadour, have not taught the Spanish king[1] to fortifie all the enterances against us. Howsoever, we must make the adventure; and if we perish, it shall be no honour for England, nor gain for his Majestie, to loose, among many other, one hundred as valiant gentlemen as England hath in it.

Of Captain BAYLIE'S base coming from us at the Canaries, see a letter of KEMISHES to Mr. SCORY; and of the unnatural weather, storms, and rains, and winds, he hath, in the same letter, given a touch. Of the way that hath ever been sailed in fourteen days, now hardly performed in fourtie days, God, I trust, will give us comfort in that which is to come.

In passage to the Canaries I stayed at Gomerah, where I took water in peace, because the countrey durst not denie it me. I received there, | of a countess[2] | of an English race, a present of oranges, lemmons, quinces, and pomegranates, without which I could not have lived. Those I preserved in fresh sands, and I have of them yet to my great refreshing. Your son had never so good

[1] So printed; but evidently corrupt. I have failed to discover either the original or any authoritative transcript of this letter.

[2] The words '*of a countess*' occur in other texts of this letter, but are wanting in the *Remains*.' It is obvious that the context needs them.

LETTER CLIII. 1617. Nov. 14.

health, having no distemper, in all the heat under the Line. My servants have escaped, but CRAB and my cook; yet all have had the sickness. CROFTS, and MARCH, and the rest are all well. Remember my service to my Lord CAREW and Mr. Secretarie WINWOOD.

I wrote not to them, for I can write of nought but miseries yet. Of men of sort, we have lost our Sergeant-major, Captain PIGOTT; and his lieuetenant, Captain EDWARD HASTINGS,—who would have died at home, for both his liver, spleen, and brains were rotten; my son's lieuetenant PAYTON; and my cosin Mr. HEWS; Mr. MORDANT; Mr. GARDINER; Mr. HAYWARD; Captain JENNINGS, the merchant; KEMISH of London; and the Master Chyrurgion; Master Refiner; Mr. MOOR, the governor of the Barmoudas; our Provost Marshal, W. STEED; Lieutenant VESCIE, but[1] to mine inestimable grief, HAMMON and TALBOT. By the next, I trust, you shall hear better of us; in God's hands we are, and in Him we trust.

This bearer, Captain ALLEY, for his infirmitie of his head I have sent back; an honest, valiant man, he can deliver you all that is past. Commend me to my worthy friends at Loathbury, Sir JOHN LEIGH, and Mr. BOWER (whose nephew KNEVIT is well), and to my cousin BLUNDELL; and my most devoted and humble service to her Majestie.

To tell you that I might be here King of the Indians were a vanitie; but my name hath still lived among them. Here they feed me with fresh meat, and all that the countrey yields; all offer to obey me. Commend me to poor CAREW my son.

From Galliana[2] in Guiana, the 14 of November [1617].

[1] So in MS. There is probably an omission.

[2] So printed; and without subscription or signature.

## 1618.

## CLIV.

## TO SECRETARY SIR RALPH WINWOOD.

From a contemporaneous and official copy. *Domestic Correspondence:* James I., vol. xcvi. No. 70. Five pages; of which the first is in a different hand from all that follows. (**Rolls House.**) Collated with another transcript in a Letter Book belonging to the Marquess of Salisbury; *Cecil Papers*, Pillar **A, b, v**, fol. 12 (**Hatfield**).

*** There is no endorsement on this letter itself. But what appears to have been the fly-leaf—now severed—is endorsed thus:—"*Copie of Sir Walter Ralegh's letter of* 21° *Martii*, 1617" [o. s.]. At the time when Ralegh wrote this letter at St. Christopher's, Secretary Winwood had been almost five months dead. He died, in London, on the 27th October, 1617; just at the moment when Ralegh was himself sickening of that almost fatal fever which he describes as "the most violent calenture that ever man suffered and lived." Winwood was succeeded, as Principal Secretary of State, by Sir Robert Naunton. The change was eminently unfortunate for Ralegh.

The Cecil copy has only this heading: "*Sir Walter Rauleighe to Sir Ralphe Winwood.*"

Winwood's death was very sudden. His case—medically—is one of the many contemporary cases which gave so unfortunate a reputation to Dr. Theodore de Mayerne, and set so many caustic tongues a-wagging.

LETTER CLIV.

1618. March 21.

To Sir R. Winwood. From St. Christopher's.

SIR,

As I have not hitherto given you any account of our proceedings and passage towards the Indyes, so have I no other subject to write of | [1]since our aryvalle | then of the greatest | [1]and sharpest | misfortunes that

[1] MS. Cecil omits the words within lines.

LETTER CLIV.
1618. March 21.
Misfortunes of the Guiana Voyage.—The information sent to King of Spain from London.—Conflicts with the Spaniards.

| [1]have | ever befallen[2] any man: for whereas, for the first, all those that navigate betweene Capo Verde and America doe passe[4] it in 15 or 20 dayes at most, we found the winds so contrary (which[5] is also contrary to nature), and so many violent stormes and raynes, as wee spent six weeks in that passage, by reason whereof, and that in so great heate we wanted water (for at the Ile Bravo,[6] of[7] Cap de Verd, we lost our cables and anchors and our water-casks; being driven from the Island with a hurrlican, and were all like to have perished) great sicknes fell amongst us, and caryid away great numbers of our hablest men boath for sea and land. The 17 of November we had sight of the coast of Guiana, and, soone after, came to anchor in fyve degrees at the river Caliana.[8] Heere we stayed till the 4th of December; landed our sick men, set up the barges and shellups, which we brought out of England in quarters; washed our ships; and tooke in fresh water; being fedd and assisted[9] by the Indyans of my ould acquaintance, with a great deale of love and respect.

My selfe | haveing[1] | beene[10] to[11] in the hands of Death, without hope, som 6 weeks (and not yet hable otherwise to moove, then as I was caryed in a chayre) gave order to fyve small shipps to sayle into Orenoke, haveing Captain KEMISH for theyre conductor[12] towards the myne; and in those five shipps fyve companyes of fifty, under the command of [Captain] PARKER and Captain NORTH, brothers to the Lord MOUNTEAGLE and the Lord NORTH, valient gentlemen, and of

[1] MS. Cecil omits the words within lines.
[2] MS. Cecil, "*befell.*" [3] Ib. "*also they.*"
[4] Ib. "*passe betweene.*" [5] Ib. "*and which are almost contrary,*" &c.
[6] Ib. "*Prano.*" [Praya, St. Jago.] [7] "*off.*" [8] Ib. "*Galliano.*"
[9] Ib. "*cherished.*" [10] Ib. "*beinge.*" [11] *too.* [12] Ib. "*conduction.*"

LETTER CLIV.
1618.
March 21.

|[1] infinite | patience for the labor, hunger, and heate which they have |[1]endured|. My sonne had the third company; Captain THORNIX of Kent [the] fourth; Captain CHUDLAY,[2] by his lieutenant, the fifth. But as my Sergent-major, Captain PIGOTT, of the Low Contryes, dyed [in] the former miserable passage, so my lieutenant, Sir WARHAM SAINT LEGER, lay sick, without hope of lyfe; and the charge confered on my nephew, GEORGE RALEGH, who had also served long with singular commendacions in the Low Contryes, but by reason of my absense, and of Sir WARHAM'S, was not so well obeyed as the enterprise required.

As they passed up the river, the Spaniards began the warre and shot at us, both with their ordonance and muskets; whereuppon the companies were forst to charge them, and soone after beate them out of their towne.[3] In the assault whereof, my son (having[4] more desire of honor than of safety) was slayne, and with whome, to say the truth, all respect of the world hath taken end in me. And although these five captaines had as weake companies as ever followed valiant leaders, yet were there amongst them some 20 or 30 very[5] adventurous gentlemen, and of singular courage; as |[1]of my sonne's | companie, Mr. KNEVET, Mr. HAMON, Mr. LANG|[1]WORTH|, Mr. JOHN PLESINGTON, his officers; Sir JOHN HAMDEN, Mr. SIMON LEAK (corporall of the field); Mr. HAMMEN'S[6] elder brother; |[1]Mr. NICHOLAS|, of Buckingham; Mr. ROBERTS, of Kent;

[1] Rolls House MS. omits the words within lines; but they are here printed, as being plainly required by the context.

[2] MS. Cecil, "*Chidley.*"

[3] In Rolls House MS. "their *owne* towne" was first written, and then the word 'owne' scratched through with the pen.

[4] MS. Cecil reads, "*more desirous of honour then safetie.*"

[5] Ib. "*valiant* gentlemen." [6] Ib. "*Mr. Hammon, the elder brother.*"

LETTER CLIV.
1618.
March 21.

Mr. PERIN; Mr. TR[ESHAM]; Mr. MULLINAX; Mr. WINTER, and his brother; Mr. WAY;[1] Mr. MILES HERBERT; Mr. WILLIAM HERBERT; Mr. BRADSHAW; Captain HALL, and others.

Sir, I sett downe the names of these gentlemen, to the end that if his Majesty shall have cause to use their service, it may please you to take knowledge[2] of them for very sufficient men.[3]

The other five ships stayed at Trinidado, having no other port capable of them neere Guiana. The second ship was commaunded by my vice-admirall, Captain JOHN PENNINGTON, of whome (to doe him right) [4] I must confesse that he is one of the sufficientest gentlemen for the sea that England hath. The third, by Sir WARRHAM SAINT LEGER, an exceeding valiant and worthy gentleman. The fourth, by Sir JOHN FERNE; and the fyft, by Captain CHYDLEY of Devon. With these five ships I dayly attended the Armada of Spaine, which, had they set uppon us, our force divided,—the one half in Orenoque, a hundred and fiftie miles from us,—wee had not only been torne in peeces, but all those in the river had also perished, being of no defence at all for a sea-fight; for we had resolved to have burnt by their sides, and to have dyed there, had the Armada arrived; but, belike, they stay for us at Marguerita, by which they know we must passe | towards | the Indies.

For it pleased his Majestie to value us at [so little, as to com]maund me, upon my allegeance, to sett downe | under my hand | the countrey, and the very river by which I was to enter | it; to set down | the number of my men, and burden of my ships; with what [ordnance] every ship caryed; which being made knowne to the

[1] MS. Cecil, "*Wray.*" [2] Ib. "*notice.*" [3] Ib. "*gentlemen.*"
[4] Ib. omits "*I must confess.*"

LETTER CLIV.
1618. March 21.

[Spanish ambas]sador, and by him, in post, sent to the King of Spaine, a d[espatch was] made by him and his letters sent from Madrill, before my departure out of the Thames; for his first letter, sent by a bark of advice, was dated the 19th of March, 1617, at Madrill; which letter I have here enclosed[1] sent your Honour. The rest I reserve, not knowing whether these may be intercepted or not. The second, of the King's, dated the 17 of May, sent also by a caravell to Don DIEGO DE PALOMEQUE, governor of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidado; the third, by the Bishop of Puerto-Ricco, and delivered to PALOMEQUE the 15th of July at Trinidado[2]; and the 4th was sent from the Farmer and Secretarie of his Customes in the Indies, at the same time. By that of the King's hand, | brought | by the bishop, there was also a commission for the speedy levying of 300 soldiers, and ten peeces of ordenance, to be sent from Puerto Ricco for the de[fence of] Guiana; a hundred and 50 from Nuevo Reino de Granado, under the com[mand] of Captain ANTONIO MUSICA, and the other 150 from Puerto Rico to be conducted by Captain FRANCESCO ZANCHIO.[3]

Now, Sir, if all that have traded to the Indies since his Majesty's time know it that the Spaniards have flayed alive those poor men which they have taken, being but marchant-men, what death and torment shall wee expect,[4] if they conquer us? Certainly, they have hitherto fayled grossely, being set out unto them as wee were, and discovered, both for our numbers, time, and place.

Lastly, to make an apologie for not working the mine,

[1] The enclosure does not now accompany the letter.
[2] MS. Cecil omits the words "*at Trinidado.*"
[3] Ib. "*Lavchio.*" [4] Ib. here inserts "*other.*"

LETTER CLIV.
1618. March 21.

although I know[1] not (his Majestie excepted) whom I am to satisfie so much as my self, having lost my sonne and my estate in the enterprise; yet it is true that the Spaniards tooke more care to defend the passages leading unto it, then they did their[2] towne, which (say the King's instructions) they might easily doe, the country being "*aspera et fragosa.*"[3] But it is true, that when KEMISH founde the rivers low, and that he could not approach the bankes in most places neere the mine by a mile, and when he founde a descent, a volley of muskets came from the woodes uppon the boat,[4] and slew two of the rowers, hurt six others, and shot a valiant gentleman, Captain THORNIX, | in the heade,[5] | of which wounde he hath languished to this day. He (to wit, KEMISH) following his own advise that it was in vaine to discover the mine (for he gave me this for excuse, at his returne, that the companies of English in their town of St. Thome were hardly able to defend it against the dayly and nightly alarmes and assaults of the Spaniards; that the passage to the mine was of thicke and impassable woodes; that, being discovered, they had no men to worke it), did not discover it at all. For it is true that the Spaniards, having two[6] gold mines neere the towne, —the one possessed by PEDRO RODRIGO DE PARANA; the second [mine by] HERNIAN FRUNTINO; the third, of silver, by [7]FRANCISCO FACHARDO,—[? left them] for the want of negros to worke them. For, as the Indians cannot [be constrai]ned, by a law of Charles the Fift, so the Spaniards will not, [neither can] they endure the labor of these mines, whatsoever that brag[gadochio], the Spanish

[1] MS. Cecil reads, "*although I know His Majesty expects.*"
[2] Ib. "*the.*" [3] Ib. "*nemosa.*"
[4] Rolls House MS. reads, "*banks.*"
[5] MS. Cecil omits these words. [6] So in MS.
[7] MS. Cecil inserts "*Captain,*" and omits "*Fachardo.*"

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ambassador, say, I shall prove it under the proprietaries [hand; by[1]] the custome-bookes, and by the King's quinto, of which I recovered an [ingot] or two. And I shall make it appeare, to any Prince or State that | will | undertake it, how easily those mines and five or six more may be [possess]t, and the most of them in those places which never yet have bene attempted by any enemie, nor any passage to them ever discovered by the English, Dutch, or French.

But at KEMISHES returne [2]from Orenoque, when I rejected his counsell and his course, and told him that he had undone me, and wounded my credite with the King past recoverie, he slew himself. For I told him, that, seing my sonne was lost, I cared not if he had lost an hundred more in opening the mine, so my credite had been saved. For I protest before God, had not Captain WHITNEY (whome I gave more countenance unto then to all the captaines of my fleet) runne from me at the Granadas, and carried another ship with him of Captain WOLLASTON'S, I would have left [my bod]ie at St. Thome, by my sonnes, or have brought with me out [of that or] other mines so much gold ore, as should have satisfied | the King that | I had propounded no vaine thing.

What shall become of me now, I know not; I am unpardoned in England, and my poore estate consumed; and whether any other Prince or State will give me bread,[3] I know not. I desire your Honour to hold me in your good opinion, and to remember my service to my lords of ARUNDELL and PEMBROKE; to take some pity on my poore wife, to whome I dare not write, for

[1] These words are in MS. Cecil.
[2] MS. Cecil omits the words "*from Orenoque.*"
[3] Here MS. Cecil inserts "*or no.*"

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renewing the sorrow for her sonne; and beseech you to give a copie of these to my Lord CAREW. For to a broken mind, to a weake bodie, and weake eyes, it is a torment to write many letters. I have founde many thinges of importance for discovering the estate and weakenes of the Indies, which, if I live, I shall hereafter impart unto your Honor, to whome I shall ever[1] remaine a faithfull servant,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.[2]]—Sir, since the death of KEMISH, it is confesst by the Sergeant-major and others of his inward friendes, that he told them, when they were at the river's mouth coming thence, that he could have brought them to the mine, within two howers march from the river's side; but because my sonne was slayne, myself unpardoned, and not like to live, he had no reason to open the mine either for the Spaniards or for the King. They aunswered, that the King (though I were not pardoned) had graunted me my pa[tent under the great] seale. He replyed that the graunt to me was | to a man who | was *non ens* in law, and therefore of no force. | This discourse| he had, which I knew not of till after h[is death]. When I was resolved to write unto your Honour, [he prayed] me to joyne with him in excusing his not go[ing to the] mine. I aunswered him, I would not doe [it; that] if himself could satisfy the King and the State that he had reason not to open it, I should be glad of it; but for my part, I must avow it that he knew it, and that he might, with litle losse, have done it; other excuse I would not frame. He then told me that he would waite on me

[1] MS. Cecil omits "*ever*."

[2] In MS. Cecil the Postscript appears as a separate letter.

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presently, and give me better satisfaction: but I was no sooner come from him into my cabin, but I heard a pistoll go of[1] over my head, and sending up to know who shott it, word was brought that KEMISH had shott it out of his cabin window to clense it; his boy, going into the cabin, found him lying on his bed with much bloude by him, and looking on his face saw he was deade. The pistoll being but litle, the bullet did but cracke his ribb; but he, turning him over, founde a long knife in his bodie, all but the handle.

Sir, I have sent into England, in a fly-boate, with my coosen HERBERT (a very valiant and honest gentleman), diverse other unworthy persons, good for nothing, either by land or sea; and, though it was at their owne suite, yet I know that they will wrong me in all that they can. I beseech your Honor that this scumme of men may not be beleeved of me, who have taken more paine, and suffered more then the meanest rascall in the ship. These being gone, I shalbe able, if I live, to keepe the sea till the end of August, with fower reasonable good ships.

Sir, whensoever God shall permitt me to arrive in any part of Europe, I will not faile to let your Honour know what wee have done. Till then, and ever,

Your Honour's servant,

W. RALEGH.

[2] From St. Christophers, one of the Ilandes of the Antillias, the 21th of March, 1617 [O.S.].

[1] Omitted in MS. Cecil.

## CLV.

### TO LADY RALEGH.

From a Copy in MS. HARL. 4761, ff. 23-25 (**British Museum**). Collated with another Copy in MS. SLOANE, 3520, ff. 2-4.

LETTER CLV.

1618. March 22.

To Lady Ralegh. From St. Christopher's.

Death of their son Walter.—Particulars of the expedition under Keymis.

I WAS loathe to write, because I knewe not how to comforte you; and, God knowes, I never knewe what sorrow meant till nowe. All that I can say to you is, that you must obey the will and providence of God; and remember, that the Queene's Majestie bare the losse of Prince HENRY with a magnanimous harte, and the Lady HARRINGTON of her onely[1] sonne. Comfort your hart (deerest BESSE), I shall sorrow for us bothe. I shall sorrow the lesse, because I have not longe to sorrowe, because[2] not longe to live. I referr you to Mr. Secretary WINWOOD'S letter, who will give you a coppy of it, if you sende for it. Therein you shall know what hath passed. I have written [but] that letter, for my braynes are broken, and it is a torment for mee to write, and espetially of misery. I have desired Mr. Seacretary to give my Lord CAREWE a coppy of his letter. I have clensed my shipp of sicke men, and sent them home. I hope God will send us somewhat ere wee returne. [3]Comend mee to all att Loathbury. You shall heare from mee, if I live, from the Newefoundland; where I meane to make cleane my shipps and revittle; for I have tobacco enough to pay for it. The Lord blesse and

[1] MS. Harl. omits this word. [2] MS. Sloane here repeats "*I have*."
[3] MS. Harl. omits this sentence.

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comfort you, that you may bear patiently the death of your[1] valiant sonne.

22d of March [1618], from the Isle of Christophers,

Your's,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I protest before the majestie of God, that as Sir FRANCIS DRAKE and Sir JHON HAWKINS died hartbroken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly doe the like, did I not contend against[2] sorrowe for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you; and to comfort and releive you. If I live to returne, resolve yourselfe that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my harte. It is true, that KEMISH might have gonne directly to the myne, and meante it. But, after my sonnes death, hee made them to beleive hee knew not the waye, and excused himselfe uppon the want of water in the river,[3] and, counterfetting many impediments, left it unfound. When hee came backe, I told him that hee had undone mee, and that my creditt was loste for ever.

He answered, that when my sonne was loste and[4] that he left mee soe weake that hee resolved not to finde mee alive, hee had no reason to enrich a company of rascalls, who, after my sonnes death, made no accompt of him. Hee further told mee, that the English sent upp into Guiana could hardly defend the Spanish towne of St. Thomas[5] which they had taken, and therefore for them to passe through[6] thicke woods it was impossible; and more impossible to have victualls brought them into the

[1] Here MS. Sloane inserts "*most.*" [2] MS. Sloane reads, "*with.*"
[3] The words "*in the river*" are omitted in MS. Harl.
[4] MS. Sloane omits the words "*and that.*" [5] Ib. "*Thome.*"
[6] Here MS. Sloane inserts "*the.*"

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mountayns. And it is true, that the governer DIEGO POLEMEQUE,[1] and foure other captains, being slayn, of which my sonne WATTE[2] slue one; PLESSINGTON, WATT'S serjeant,[3] and JOHN of Morrocoes, one of his men, slue other[4] two. I say five of them [being] slaine in the enterance of the towne, the rest went of in a whole body, and tooke more care to defend the passages to their myens (of which they had three within a leauge of the towne, besides a myne that was about five myles of) then they did of the towne[5] itselfe.

Yet KEMISH, at the first, was resolved to go to the myene; but when he came to the banke-side to the lande, hee had two of his men slaine outrighte from the banke, and six other hurte, and Captain THORNIX shott in the head, of which wounde, and the accidents thereof, hee hath pined away these twelve weeks.

Now when KEMISH came backe, and gave mee the former[6] reasons which moved him not to open the myene—the one, the death of my sonne; the second, the weakenes of the English, and their impossibilities to worke and to be victualled; a third, that it were a follye to discover it for the Spanyards; and the last, both my weaknes and my beinge unpardoned—and that I rejected all these[7] arguments, and told him that I must leave him to himselfe, to resolve[8] it to the King and the State, he shutt upp him selfe into his cabbin, and shott him selfe with a pocket pistoll, which brake one of his ribbs; and finding that itt[9] had not prevailed, hee thruste a longe knife under his shorte ribbs upp to the handle, and dyed. Thus much I have writt to Mr.

[1] MS. Harl. reads "*Poleneyo.*" [2] Ib. reads "*whereof Watte.*"
[3] Ib. "*servant.*" [4] MS. Sloane reads "*each two.*" [5] Ib. "*cittie.*"
[6] So in both MSS. and in many other transcripts; but evidently a misreading of "*fower.*" [7] Here MS. Harl. inserts "*his.*"
[8] MS. Sloane, "*aunswer.*" [9] MS. Harl. "*her.*"

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Seacretary, to whose letters I referr you. [1] But because, I thinke my freinds will rather hearken after you then any other to knowe the truthe, I did after the sealinge breake open your [2] letter againe, to let you knowe in breife the state of that busines, which I pray you impart to my Lord of NORTHUMBERLAND, and SIL. SKORY [3] | [4] and to Sir JOHN LEIGH. |

For the rest, there was never poore man soe exposed to the slaughter as I was; for beinge commaunded upon my allegiance to sett downe, not onely the country, but the very river by which I was to enter it, to name my shipps, number my men, and my artillery;—this [5] was sent by the Spanish ambassador to his master, the Kinge of Spaine.[6] The King wrote his letters to all parts of the Indyes, espetially to the governor POLOMEQUE of Guiana, El Dorado, and Trinidado; of which the first letter bare date the 19th of March, 1617, at Madrill, when I had not yett lefte the Thames; which letter I have sent Mr. Seacretary. I have also two [7] other letters of the King's which I reserve, and one of the Councell. The King alsoe sent a comission to leavye 300 soldiers out of his garrisons of Nuevo Reigno de Granadoes or [8] Porto Rico, with tenn peeces of brasse ordnance to entertaine us. Hee alsoe prepared an armado [9] by sea to sett uppon us. It weare to longe to tell you how we weere preserved. | [10] If I live, I shall make it known. | My braynes are broken, and I cannot write much. I live yet, and I have told you why. WHITNEY, for whome I sold [11] my plate at Plymouth, and to whome I gave more

[1] MS. Harl. omits from "*but*" to "*any other.*" [2] Ib. reads "*the.*"
[3] Silvanus Scory. [4] These five words are omitted in MS. Harl.
[5] MS. Harl. inserts "*now.*" "This now was sent," &c.
[6] MS. Sloane omits the words "*of Spaine.*"
[7] MS. Harl. omits "*two.*" [8] Ib. reads "*and.*" [9] Ib. reads "*army.*"
[10] MS. Sloane omits this clause. [11] MS. Harl. inserts "*all.*"

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creditt and countenance then all the captaines of my fleete, ran from mee at the Granadoes, and WOOLASTON with him; soe as I am[1] nowe but five shipps, and one[2] of those I have sent home—my fly-boate—and in her a rable of idle rascalls, which I knowe will not spare to wounde mee; but I care not. I am sure there is never a base slave in[3] the fleete hath taken the paines and care that I have done; [4] hath sleppt so little, and travilled soe much. My frends will not beleive them; and for the rest I care not. God in heaven blesse you and strengthen your hart.

Your

W. RALEGH.

[1] MS. Hark. reads, "*that I have.*"
[2] Ib. "*out* of those I have sent some into my fly-boate," &c.
[3] Ib. inserts "*all.*" [4] Ib. "*that have.*"

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLVI. — *PARTICULARS OF THE GUIANA ENTERPRISE.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLVI.

1618.

THIS Letter was sent to the King through the hands of Sir Thomas Wilson, then acting as Ralegh's gaoler and the King's spy. In transmitting it, Wilson wrote to the King as follows:—

"Most gratious Soveraigne,

"Heere hath your Majesty something more *ex farragine istius veteratoris*, but what it is I know not. I only told him that your Majesty said that what he had before written was something, but that you loked for more. To which hee answeared and protested, with many othes, that he had written all that he knew. 'Nay,' said I, 'you have written nothing of that you told me, concerning your conselling for takeing the Indian Fleete, and your saying that you had a French commission; and of one Captain Charles Sage,[1] a Frenchman, who promised to bring you shipps and men from Rochell.' To this he answeared that he thought your Majesty desired nothing but the busines with the Agent and Frenchmen now, and about his escape. 'But,' said he, 'if His Majesty desire to know former matters, I can say much more;' and soe desired paper and inck to sett it downe, which before I gave him, I conjured him by all meanes I cold, to sett down all his knowledg, not only of this buisnies before herin mentioned, but of any other matter whatsoever here or elsewhere that might concerne your

[1] So in MS. It should evidently be 'Faige.' See the Letter to De Bisseaux.

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1618.

Majesty to know; which, he said, he wold do, but in no hope to save his lyfe, for he knew that the more he confessed the sooner he shold be hanged;[1] but 'God is my judg,' quoth he, 'I will discharg my conscience in all things to His Majesty,' which whether he hath done or noe your Majesty will soone see by his letter enclosed."

The copy of Wilson's letter preserved by himself in the State Paper Office, of which he had the custody,—a fact very necessary to be borne in mind, in regard to all these documents of 1618,—is twice dated in his own hand, "24 Sept.;" and is endorsed "*Copy of my letter to His Majesty, with a letter to him from Sir W. Rawley;*" and thus the date of Sir Walter's letter is ascertained. The letter is followed, under the same date of 24 Sept., by a series of questions and answers in the hand of one of Wilson's clerks, which read thus:—

| *Questions:* | *Ralegh's Answers:* |
|---|---|
| [I.] "What is the name of your servant that brought you the message, out of your gallery, that two gentlemen were to speake with you on Saturday at 8 o'clock in the evening, the night before you attempted to escape? | "I do not remember who it was that brought me word of the Frenchmen being in the gallery. I thought it was eyther my page, who is a prisoner in the Towre, or Cuthbert, who is also a prisoner. I therfore writt unto them by Sir Thomas Wilson, requiring them to call to mynde whether any of them brought them in, or brought me word that they were in my gallery, or conducted them out. |
| [II.] "What servants or frends of yours had any sight or notice of the French | "I do not know what servant of myne had any sight or notice of the French Agent's coming to me. As for friends, I |

[1] The entire tenor of Wilson's correspondence—to say nothing of his well-known character—warrants from an editor the renewed caution, that for such assertions as this, as for so many others in regard to the incidents of Ralegh's imprisonment and conversation, in 1618, the reader has before him Wilson's word, and that only.

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| *Questions:* | *Ralegh's Answers:* |
| --- | --- |
| Agent's coming to you, or of his goeing from you? | had none in the house at that hour of the night; and if any servant of myne had any notice of theyr coming, sure I am that that servant wold have acquainted me therewith. But, as I have alredy said it to His Majesty by my letter, I protest it upon myne allegeance, I knewe not of theyr coming before I saw them. Only, when Chesney met me at Brannford, I told him I wold be at my house that Fryday night, and therfore I cold not doubt but that he wold come eyther that night or the next day. |
| [III.] "What servants or frends of yours had any sight or notice of La Chesne's coming to you or going from you at any tyme? | "Stukely saw Chesne at Branford, and I thinke he saw him againe on the Sonday; for therupon it was that I told him he had provided me the French barke to carry us over. What servants saw him come or goe on the Sonday I know not. All the house might see him. For me to confess the matter and deny the cercumstances were extreame foolery. |
| [IV.] "You shall do well to sett downe whatsoever you know concerning that French Commission you sought for, and said you had, out of France, and the depences thereon, wherof His Majesty hath not yet cleere satisfaction." | "I never sought for any French Commission, nor never had any. The French King's commissions are of record. If ever I had any, it may be known for a French crown. Why I said I had one, I have given the reason to His Majesty in my letter." |

The letter from Wilson and the examination of the 24th of September were thus answered by Secretary Sir Robert Naunton, on the next day:—

> "Sir, His Majesty hath as yet received no satisfaction at all out of your last examination of Sir Walter Rauhly and his attendance; and therefore hath comaunded me to direct you anew that you sholde proceede to examine

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLVI. 1618.

his Lady, and the rest of their howshold servaunts that were about them while they were together in Broad Streate. To which end I returne you here back inclosed the papers you redemanded, which you must returne back again safe, for that they conteine a confirmacion of what hee formerly confest, which is more then all his soaring and tedious last letter did importe. So I commend me kindly to your self and your fellow prisonner, your good Lady, and am

Your assured loving frend,

ROBERT NAUNTON.

"Hampton Courte, the 25th of September, 1618.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—"I pray you make as much speed in despatch of this buisness and retourning your accompt thereof as conveniently you may, doing it well, as His Majesty expects that you wil.

"Memorandum. To examyne who was the keeper of the Gate."

Ralegh's pithy remark—'The French King's commissions are of record. If ever I had any, it may be known for a French crown'—is an extremely suggestive one. Had it been borne in mind, and turned to the due account, it would certainly have abridged some of the diplomatic correspondence between Buckingham, Naunton, and Beche, at the time. Possibly, it might also have abridged some of the epithets—'Liar,' 'Traitor,' and the like—which have been indulged in more recently.

## CLVI.

## TO THE KING.

From a contemporaneous and official Copy. *Domestic Correspondence*: James I., vol. xcix. No. 69, I (**Rolls House**).

LETTER CLVI.
1618. Sept. 24.
To the King. [From the Tower.]
Further particulars of the Guiana enterprise.

MAYE IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE,

IF in my jorny outward bound I had of my men murthered at the Ilands, and spared to tak revenge; if I did discharge some Spanish barkes taken, without spoile; if I forbare all partes of the Spanish Indies, wherin I might have taken twentye of their townes on the sea cost, and did only follow the enterprise which I undertooke for Guiana,—where, without any direccion from me, a Spanish village was burnt, which was newly sett up within three miles of the mine,—by your Majesties favor I finde noe reason whie the Spanish Embassadore should complaine of me. If it were lawfull for the Spanish to murther 26 Englishmen, tyenge them back to backe, and then to cutt theire throtes, when they had traded with them a whole moneth, and came to them on the land without so much as one sword amongst them all;—and that it may not be lawfull for your Majesties subjects, beinge forced by them, to repell force by force; we may justly say, 'O miserable English!'

If PARKER and MUTTON[1] took Campeach and other places in the Honduraes, seated in the hart of the Spanish Indies; burnt townes, killed the Spaniards;

[1] In another copy, also preserved amongst the *Domestic Correspondence*, this name is written 'Mutam.'

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1618. Sept. 24.

and had nothing sayed to them at their returne,—and that my selfe forbore to looke into the Indies, because I would not offend, I may as justly say, 'O miserable Sir WALTER RALEGH!'

If I had spent my poore estate, lost my sonne, suffred, by sicknes and otherwise, a world of miseries; if I had resisted with the manifest hazard of my life the rebells[1] [robberies?] and spoiles which my companyes would have made; if when I was poore I could have mad my selfe rich; if when I had gotten my libertye, which all men and Nature it selfe doth so much prise, I voluntarilie lost it; if when I was master of my life I rendred it againe; if, [though] I might elsewhere have sould my shipp and goods, and put five or six thousand pounds in my purse, I have brought her into England; I beseech your Majestie to beleeve, that all this I have done because it should [not][2] be sayed to your Majestie that your Majestie had given libertie and trust to a man whose ende was but the recovery of his libertie, and whoe had[2] betrayed your Majesties trust.

My mutiners tould me, that if I returned for England I should be undone; but I beleeved more in your Majesty's goodnes then in their arguments. Sure I am, that I am the first who, being free and able to inrich my selfe, hath embraced povertie. And as sure I am that my example shall make me the last. But your Majesties wisdome and goodnes I have made my judges, whoe have ever bine, and shall ever remain,

Your Majesty's most humble vassall,

W. RAULEIGH.[3]

[1] So in MS., but obviously an error either of the amanuensis or transcriber.

[2] "not" has here been omitted by transposition. MS. reads, "it should be sayed . . . and whoe had *not* betrayed," &c.

[3] So in MS.

## CLVII.

### TO LADY RALEGH.

LETTER CLVII

1618. [September?]

From a copy in the hand of a clerk of Sir THOMAS WILSON, made,—as it seems,—before the delivery of the Letter to Lady RALEGH. *Domestic Correspondence:* James I. vol. xcix. § 9 I (Rolls House).

To Lady Ralegh. From the Tower.

I AM sycke and weak. This honest gentleman, Mr. EDWARD WILSON, is my keeper, and takes much payne with me. My swolne syde keeps me in perpetual paine and unrest. God comfort us!

A note of introduction for Edward Wilson, his under-keeper.

Your's,

W. R.

### *REPLY TO THE LETTER PRINTED ABOVE.*

#### LADY RALEGH TO SIR WALTER RALEGH.

From a copy, made as above, and upon the same sheet.

1618. [September?]

Lady Ralegh to Sir W. Ralegh.

I AM sory to hear amongst many discomforts that your health is so ill. 'Tis meerly sorrow and greaf that with wynd hath gathered into your syde. I hope your health and comforts will mend, and mend us for God. I am gladd to heer you have the company and comfort of sc good a keeper. I was something dismayed, at the first, that you had no servant of your own left you, but I hear this Knight's servants are very necessary. God requite his courtesyes; and God, in mercy, looke on us.

Reply to the preceding note.

Your's,

E. RALEGH.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLVIII. — *FURTHER PARTICULARS OF THE GUIANA ENTERPRISE.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLVIII.

1618.

THE letter to which this is an answer appears to have been written by Lady Ralegh, at the instigation either of Secretary Naunton, or of some other person about the King. Neither the letter nor any copy of it is now to be found among the State Papers. But it is plain from the correspondence between Naunton and Wilson that, whilst the writer must have fondly hoped that some benefit would result to her husband from his answering the questions she was instigated to put to him, the ingenious contrivers had a purpose directly the opposite of this. Naunton enclosed Lady Ralegh's letter to Wilson with this note, dated Whitehall, 4 Oct. 1618, from himself: "His Majestie wold have you deliver this to Sir W. Raghly, to discover what you can by his aunswer; which I pray you send me backe as soone as you can, that I may acquaint the Lords with it. So, in hast, I bid you and your lady farewell." Wilson replies, on the same day: "Sir, Heer have you Sir W. R. his answer to his wyve's letter, which, if you please, when you have done with it to retorne to me, I may goe [to] her and gett those wrytings he saith she hath concerning the shipp. I demanded of him certayn questions also about the shipp, wherof his answers are sett downe in the margent of the copie of his wyve's letter which I send, least that which I left with your Honour be not neer hand." This copy with the marginal notes is also missing. Naunton returned the answer thus sent to him, with these additional words: "I returne you Sir Walter's aunswer to his Lady, to make the best use of it you can. I forbeare to send your long letter to the King, who wold not read over the Ladie's, being glutted and cloyed

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER CLVIII.

1618.

with buisnes, before his parting hence. So, in hast, I bid you good night. Your's assuredly to do you service, R. Naunton."

In the Letter which follows, "Mr. Harbert" is, of course, the "William Herbert" whose name has occurred so often in preceding Letters.

## CLVIII.

## TO LADY RALEGH.

From a copy made by Sir THOMAS WILSON, before,—as it seems,—the Original was delivered to Lady RALEGH. *Domestic Correspondence:* James I. vol. ciii. § 21 **(Rolls House)**.

LETTER CLVIII.

1618. Oct. 4.

To Lady Ralegh. [From the Tower.]

Particulars as to the outfit and charges of ships employed in the Guiana expedition.

YOU have a note what the shipp cost in which every perticuler is sett downe, and it is signed by Mr. HARBERT. The lyke note he hath of myne and signed by me. I gave you myne att Plymouth, with other writtings of PENINGTON'S and FERN'S. As I remember, the shipp and her furniture,—to witt, her cabells, ancors, sayles, ordnance, bullets, powder, joyners worke, carving, paynting, and all ells,—did amount to 7,000*l.* or neare it, as you may perceive by the inventory under my hand and Mr. HARBERT'S hand.

And, as I do remember, Mr. HARBERT hath disburssed towards his fourth part 11 hundred pounds. You say that hee demands twelve, and it[1] may be true. You have also an Inventory of all that is now remaining and belonging to the shipp. You have also a writing from C[aptain] PENNINGTON of the forth part of his shipp, which I pray deliver to Sir CHA[RLES] SNELL, to whome it belongs. You have also a writting from Sir JO[HN]

[1] So in MS.; the meaning evidently being that the "demand" may be true.

LETTER CLVIII. 1618. Oct. 4.

FERNE to discharge me for 1700*l.* which I was some way entangled for him, with whome I adventured of Mr. HARBERT'S mony 200*l.* There is a paper booke which SAM[UEL] KING kept of all perticulers of the shipp, and to whome the mony was paide. My sonn whome I have lost hath also signed that note, Inventory, and agreement betweene me and Mr. HARBERT.

Your desolate husband,

W. R.

Endorsed by Sir T. Wilson:

*Copie of Sir Walter Rawly's Answer to his Wyve's letter concerning the Shipp.*

## CLIX.

## TO GEORGE VILLIERS, MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

*** I have been unable to find either the original of this letter or a satisfactory contemporaneous copy of it. I therefore print it as the Curators of the University Press of Oxford have printed it in the *Works of Ralegh* (vol. viii. p. 651).

LETTER CLIX. 1618. To the Marquess of Buckingham.

IF I presume too much, I humbly beseech your Lordship to pardon me, especially in presuming to write to so great and worthy a person, who hath been told that I have done him wrong. I heard it but of late, but most happy had I been, if I might have disapproved that villany against me, when there had been no suspicion that the desire to save my life had presented my excuse.

But, my worthy Lord, it is not to excuse myself that I now write: I cannot, for I have now offended my Sovereign Lord: for all past, even all the world, and my very enemies, have lamented my loss, whom now, if his

LETTER CLIX.

1618.

In defence of the Guianian enterprise; and beseeching the Marquess' intercession with the King.

Majesty's mercy alone do not lament, I am lost. Howsoever, that which doth comfort my soul in this offence is, that even in the offence itself I had no other intent than his Majesty's service, and to make his Majesty know that my late enterprise was grounded upon a truth, and which, with one ship speedily set out, I meant to have assured, or to have died: being resolved (as it is well known) to have done it from Plymouth, had I not been restrained. Hereby I hoped not only to recover his Majesty's gracious opinion, but to have destroyed all those malignant reports which had been spread of me. That this is true, that gentleman whom I so much trusted, (my keeper,) and to whom I opened my heart, cannot but testify, and wherein, if I cannot be believed living, my death shall witness: yea, that gentleman cannot but avow it, that when we came back towards London, I desired to have no other treasure than the exact description of those places in the Indies. That I meant to go hence as a discontented man, God, I trust, and mine own actions, will dissuade his Majesty; whom neither the loss of my estate, thirteen years' imprisonment, and the denial of my pardon, could beat from his service. And the opinion of being accounted a fool, or rather distract, by returning as I did, unpardoned, balanced with my love to his Majesty's person and estate, had no place at all in my heart.

It was that last severe letter from my Lords, for the speedy bringing of me up, and the impatience of dishonour that first put me in fear of my life, or enjoying it in a perpetual imprisonment, never to recover my reputation lost, which strengthened me in my late, and too late lamented resolution; if his Majesty's mercy do not abound; if his Majesty do not pity my age, and scorn to take the extremest and utmost advantage of my

errors; if his Majesty, in his great charity, do not make a difference between offences proceeding from a life-saving, natural impulsion, without ill intent, and those of an ill heart; and that your Lordship, remarkable in the world for the nobleness of your disposition, do not vouchsafe to become my intercessor,—whereby your Lordship shall bind an hundred gentlemen of my kindred to honour your memory, and bind me for all the time of that life which your Lordship shall beg for me, to pray to God that you may ever prosper, and ever bind me to remain,

Your most humble servant,

W. RALEGH.

LETTER CLIX. 1618.

## CLX.

### TO GEORGE, LORD CAREW OF CLOPTON (AFTERWARDS EARL OF TOTNES).

From the Original. MS. COTTON, Vitellius C xvii. ff. 439, 440 (**British Museum**). Chiefly in the hand of an Amanuensis; but with some corrections in Sir W. RALEGH'S own hand. Mutilated.

[*The beginning of each of the three pages of this letter was burned off in the fire at Ashburnham House; as were also some letters, or syllables, of many words towards the margins of two out of the three pages. These omissions are supplied (from a copy of the letter made before the fire) within brackets.*]

LETTER CLX. 1618. To Lord Carew.

[BECAUSE I know not whether I shall live to come before the Lords, I have, for his Majesty's satisfaction, here set down as much as I can say, either for mine own defence or against myself, as things are construed.

It is true that though I acquainted his Majestie with my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never made it known] to his Majestie that the Spann[ierds] had any footing

LETTER CLX.

1618.

Defence of the Guiana expedition. —Invalidity of the Spanish pretensions and complaints.

there], neither had I anie authority by my patent to remove the Spann[ierds from thence], and therefore his Majestie had no interest in the attempt of Saint Thome, [by any fore]knowledge thereof in his Majestie.

Butt knowinge his Majesties title to the cuntry to bee the best and most Christia[n, because] [1] the naturall lords did most willingly acknowledge Queene ELIZABETH to be their sovran, [who by] mee promised to defende them from the Spanishe cruelty, I made noe doubt butt that I [might] enter the land by force,—seeinge the Spa[2][niard] had noe other title butt force (the Pope's donation excepted); consideringe alsoe that they gott a possession divers yeares since my possession, taken for the Crowne of England. For, were nott Guiana his Majesties, then mighte I as well have beene questioned for a theefe, for takinge of gould out of the Kinge of Spaine's mines; as the Spa[2][niards] doe now call mee a peacebreaker: for from anie territory confessed to be the Kinge of Spaines itt is noe more lawfull to take gould, then lawfull for the Spaniards to take tinne out of Cornewall.

Now, were this possession of theirs a sufficient barr to his Majesties righte, the Kings of Spaine mighte as well call themselves Dukes of Brittaine,[3] bycause they held Bluette and fortified there; and Kings of Ireland because they possessed Smericke [4] and fortified there; and soe in other places.

That his Majestie was well resolved of his right there, I make no kinde of doubt, because the English both under Mr. CHARLES LEIGH and Mr. HARECOURT had leave to plant and inhabitt the country.

[1] Burnt off; the reading somewhat doubtful, notwithstanding the authority of the early copy.

[2] So written—"*Spa.*"

[3] Brittany.

[4] Smerwick. [See Vol. I. p. 40.]

LETTER CLX. 1618.

That Oronoque itt selfe had, longe ere this, 5,000 Englishe in itt, I assure my selfe,—had nott my imployment at Cales,[1] the next yeare after my returne from Guiana, and after that our journey to the Ilands, hyndred mee for those two yeares; after which TYRON'S rebellion made her Majestie unwillinge that anie great number of shipps or menn should bee taken out of England till that rebellion were ended. And, lastly, her Majesties death, and my longe imprisonment, gave time to the Spannierds to sett upp a towne of staks,[2] covered with leaves of trees, upon the bancks of Oronoque, which they called 'St. Thome;' butt they have [3] reconsiled nor conquered any of the Casiques or naturall lords of the country, which Casiques are still in armes against them, as by the Governor's letter to the King of Spa[4][ine] may appeare.

That by landinge in Guiana there can be anie breache of peace, I thinke ytt, under favor,[5] impossible. To breake peace where there is noe peace, itt cannott bee.

That the Spa[4][niards] give us noe peace there, ytt doth appeare by the King's letter, to his governor, that they shall putt to death all those Spa[4][niards] and Indeans that trade '*con los Engleses enemigos*,'—with Englishe enymyes. Yea, those verye Spaniards which wee encountred att St. Thome did, of late yeares, murder 36 of Mr. HALL'S menn, of London, and myne, who landed, without weapon, upon the Spa[4][nish] faithe, to trade with them. Mr. THORNE, alsoe, of Tower Street in London, besids many other Englishe, was in l[ike] sort

[1] Cadiz. [2] *stakes.*

[3] The word "*neither*" seems here to have been omitted in the original.

[4] So written by Ralegh.

[5] Or, "*under your favour.*" The reading is doubtful. Here the words have been partly torn, or washed, away; not burned.

LETTER CLX. 1618.

murdered, the yeare before my deliverey out of the Tower.

[Now, if this kind of trade be 'peaceable,' there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies between us and the Spaniards. But, if this be cruel war and hatred, and no peace,—then there is no peace broken by our attempt. Again, how doth it stand with the greatness of the King of Spain first to call us 'enemies' when he did hope to cutt us in pieces, and then, having failed, to call us peacebreakers, for] to bee [an enemy and a peacebreaker in one and the same accion is] impossible. Butt the Kinge of Spa[1][in], in his letter to the [Governor of] Guiana, dated att Madrill, the 29th of Marche—before wee left the Thames—calls us '*Engleses inimigos.*'

Had itt pleased the King of Spaine to have written to His Majestie in six monethes time (for wee were soe long in prepairinge), and have made His Majestie knowe that our landinge in Guiana would draw after itt a breache of peace, I presume to thinke His Majestie would have staied our enterprise for the present. This he might have done with lesse chardges then to leavye 300 soldiers, and transport 10 peece of ordinance from Puerto Rico; which soldiers added to the garrison of St. Thome (had they arryved before our comminge) had overthrowne all our rawe companies. And there would have followed noe complaint.

For the vayne point of landinge near St. Thome, itt is true that wee were of opinion that wee must have driven the Spaniards out of their towne before wee could passe the thick woods upon the mountayne of the myne, which I confesse I did first resolve upon. Butt better bethinkinge my self, I referred the takinge of the towne

[1] So written by Ralegh.

LETTER CLX.
1618.

to the goodnes of the myne, which, if they founde to bee soe ritch as it might perswade the leavinge of a garrison theer, then to drive the Spaniards thence. Butt to have itt burnt was never my intent; neither could they give mee anie reason why they did itt.

Upon the returne, I examined the Serjeant Major and KEMISHE, why they followed nott my last direccions for the triall of the myne, before the takinge of the towne. And they aunswered mee that althoughe they durst hardly goe to the myne, leaving a garrison of Spaniards behind them and their botes, yet, they said, they followed those latter direccions and did land betweene the towne and the myne; and that the Spaniards, without anie manner of parley, sett upon them unawares and chardged them,—calling them *Peros Engleses*,—and by skirmishing with them drew them on to the very entrance of the towne, before they knew where they were; soe as, if anie peace had bine in those partes, the Spaniards first brake the peace and made the first slaughter. For as the Englishe could nott butt land to seeke the myne, beinge come thither to that ende; soe beinge first reviled and chardged by the Spaniards, they could do noe lesse then repell force by force.

Lastlie, itt is a matter of noe small consequence to acknowledge wee have offended the Kinge of Spaine by landinge in Guiana:—For, first, itt weakens His Majesties title to the country, or quitts ytt. Secondly, There is noe Kinge that hath ever given the least way to anie other Kinge or State in the traffick of the lives and goods of his subjects,—to wytt, as in our case, that ytt shall bee lawfull for the Spaniards to murder us either by [war[1]?] or treason, and nott lawfull for us to defend ourselves, and pay them with their owne [coin[1]]. . . . .

[1] These words have been effaced.

LETTER CLX.

1618.

[*This part of the letter — occupying the top of the second leaf — has been burned away.*]

. . . . . .

. . . . . retourne. You an . . . . . .

. . . . . .

Plymouth, a French gentleman called FLORIE went thence with p[urpose and ?[1]] with commission to burne and to sacke all places in the In[dyes that he could ?[1]] master; and yett hath the Frenche Kinge maried a daughter of Spaine.

This is all that I can say, other then I have spent my pore estate, lost [my son[1]] and my health, and indured as many sortes of miseries as ever mann did, in [hope to] doe his Majestie service; and have nott, to my understandinge, commytted anie hos[tile] act, other then the entrance upon a territory belonginge to the Crowne of England, where the Englishe were first sett upon and slaine by the usurping Spaniards.

I invaded noe other parts of the Indies, pretended by the Spaniards. I returned into England with the manifest perrill of my life, with a purpose nott to holde my life by anie other act then His Majesties grace, and from which noe mann nor any perrill could disswade mee. To that grace, and goodnesse, and kinglinesse, I referr my self; which, if itt shall finde that I have nott yett suffred enoughe, ytt may, if ytt please, adde more affliction to the remaynder of a wretched life.

[*The subscription and signature—if any—have been either burned or cut off.*]

[1] These words are conjectural; only slight traces of them remain.

# *LETTERS*

## *OMITTED IN THEIR DUE ORDER OF TIME.*

*** *The printing of some of these* Supplemental Letters *was postponed in the hope of giving them, if possible, from the* Originals, *instead of from* Transcripts. *But the hope has not been realized, save in one instance. The marginal numbers to which the mark* is affixed will serve to show the due place of each letter in the General Series, as far as that place is at present ascertainable.*

## 1596.

### CLXI. [*LXIV.**]

### TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. clxxiii. § 73 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER CLXI. [LXIV.*]

1596. May 13.

To Sir R. Cecil. From Dover.

Naval matters connected with the Fleet prepared against Spain.

SINCE I sent my letter to your Honor from Dover—before I departed the rode—ther came up unto mee sume seven or eight sayle of the Fleet, who being all like to perris on Wensday after midnight, they weare driven to lett slip all their cables and ancors.

I humblie beseich your Honor to cause a letter to be written to the Maior of Dover, to send a boate of the towne to save the sayd cables and ancors,—having all boyes uppon them. They weare left on the north-est

LETTER CLXI. [LXIV.*]
1596. May 13.

part of Goodden Sands, in five or sixe fathume. Thus I humblie take my leve. From Dover,—on[1] hower after my former letter.

Yours ever to do yow service,

W. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECILL, *Knight, of her Majesties most honorable Privy Councell.* In hast.

Endorsed:

13 *May*, 1596. *Sir Walter Raleigh to my Master. From Dover.*

1598?

## CLXII. [*LXXXIV.**]

### TO MICHAEL HICKES, SECRETARY TO THE LORD TREASURER BURGHLEY.

As printed, in 1720, by ARTHUR COLLINS, in the first edition of his *Baronettage of England.*

LETTER CLXII. [LXXXIV*.]
1598? July 12.
To Michael Hickes. From Sherborne.
Entreaty for the furtherance of the payment, by the Lord Treasurer, of a debt owing to Captain Spring.

WORTHY MR. MICHAEL,

I AM most earnestly to entreat you for this gentleman, Captain SPRING, that partly for love, partly for honest consideration, you will further him with my Lord Treasurer for a debt of £300 which Her Majesty doth owe him. It hath been long due, and he hath good warrant for it. Besides, he hath served Her Majesty very long, and hath received many wounds in her service. These reasons delivered by a man of your utterance, and having his good angel at your elbow to instruct you, I doubt not but it will take good and speedy effect.

[1] *one.*

LETTER CLXII. [LXXXIV.*] — 1598? July 12.

|And, in the conclusion,[1]| I never wrote unto you for any man or in any matter wherein you shall more binde me unto you than for this bearer; and so, not doubting of your assured friendliness, I leave you to God, and remain,

Your most assured loving friend,

W. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Always remember you must deal conscionably, for my sake, and I will requite it.

From Sherburn, the 12th of July.

## 1603.

## CLXIII. [*CXVII.**]

## TO LADY RALEGH.

As printed, in 1839, by the Rev. J. S. BREWER, from a nearly contemporaneous transcript in MS. YELVERTON xvi. fol. 100 (**All Souls College, Oxford**).[2]

LETTER CLXIII. [CXVII.*] — 1603. July. To Lady Ralegh. [From the Tower.]

RECEIVE, from thy unfortunate husband these his last lines; these the last words that ever thou shalt receive from him. That I can live never to see thee and my child more!—I cannot. I have desired God and disputed with my reason, but nature and compassion hath the victory. That I can live to think how you are both left a spoil to my enemies, and that my name shall be a

[1] These four words are printed by Collins in brackets, without any note.

[2] I have visited the All Souls Library, and (by the kindness of the Warden and Fellows) have profited by some of the MSS. there preserved; as the readers of the first volume of this book will have seen. But I was accidentally deprived of the opportunity of collating this letter with the MS.

LETTER CLXIII. [CXVII.*]

1603. July.

A letter of farewell and consolation.—Reasons of his purposed suicide.—His last wishes as to the disposal of his Estate.

dishonor to my child,—I cannot. I cannot endure the memory thereof. Unfortunate woman, unfortunate child, comfort yourselves; trust God, and be contented with your poor estate. I would have bettered it, if I had enjoyed a few years.

Thou art a young woman, and forbear not to marry again. It is now nothing to me; thou art no more mine; nor I thine. To witness that thou didst love me once, take care that thou marry not to please sense, but to avoid poverty, and to preserve thy child. That thou didst also love me living, witness it to others;—to my poor daughter, to whom I have given nothing; for his sake, who will be cruel to himself to preserve thee. Be charitable to her, and teach thy son to love her for his father's sake.

For myself, I am left of all men that have done good to many. All my good turns forgotten; all my errors revived and expounded to all extremity of ill. All my services, hazards, and expenses for my country—plantings, discoveries, fights, councils, and whatsoever else—malice hath now covered over. I am now made an enemy and traitor by the word of an unworthy man. He hath proclaimed me to be a partaker of his vain imaginations, notwithstanding the whole course of my life hath approved the contrary, as my death shall approve it. Woe, woe, woe be unto him by whose falsehood we are lost. He hath separated us asunder. He hath slain my honor; my fortune. He hath robbed thee of thy husband, thy child of his father, and me of you both. O God! thou dost know my wrongs. Know, then, thou my wife, and child;—know, then, thou my Lord and King, that I ever thought them too honest to betray, and too good to conspire against.

But, my wife, forgive thou all, as I do. Live humble,

LETTER CLXIII. [CXVII.*]
1603. July.

for thou hast but a time also. God forgive my Lord HARRY,[1] for he was my heavy enemy. And for my Lord CECILL, I thought he would never forsake me in extremity. I would not have done it him, God knows. But do not thou know it, for he must be master of thy child[2] and may have compassion of him. Be not dismayed, that I died in despair of God's mercies. Strive not to dispute it. But assure thyself that God hath not left me, nor Satan tempted me. Hope and Despair live not together. I know it is forbidden to destroy ourselves; but I trust it is forbidden in this sort,—that we destroy not ourselves despairing of God's mercy. The mercy of God is immeasurable; the cogitations of men comprehend it not.

In the Lord I have ever trusted; and I know that my Redeemer liveth. Far is it from me to be tempted with Satan; I am only tempted with Sorrow, whose sharp teeth devour my heart. O God! Thou art goodness itself, Thou canst not but be good to me. O God! that art mercy itself, Thou canst not but be merciful to me!

For my estate, [it] is conveyed to feoffees—to your cousin BRETT and others. I have but a bare estate for a short life. My plate is at gage in Lombard Street; my debts are many. To PETER VANLORE, some £600. To ANTROBUS as much, but CUMPTON is to pay £300 of it. To MICHAEL HEXT,[3] £100. To GEORGE CAREW, £100.

[1] In printing this name, Mr. Brewer has by an oversight added "Cobham," in a note. There is no doubt whatever that Howard was meant by Ralegh. The expression is strictly appropriate in Howard's case, and he was so called by others of his contemporaries. No instance is known of the designation "my Lord Harry" as applied to Cobham. And the internal evidence of the letter itself points to Howard.

[2] As "Master of the Court of Wards."

[3] Sir Michael Hickes, who had been secretary to Lord Burghley, and to whom Letter CLXII. is addressed.

LETTER CLXIII. [CXVII.*]
1603. July.

To NICHOLAS SANDERS[ON], £100. To JOHN FITZ-JAMES, £100. To Master WADDON, £100. To a poor man, one HAWKES, for horses, £70. To a poor man, called HUNT, £20. Take first care of those, for God's sake. To a brewer at Weymouth and a baker, for Lord CECILL'S ship and mine, I think some £80. JOHN RENOLDS knoweth it. And let that poor man have his true part of my return from Virginia. And let the poor men's wages be paid with the goods, for the Lord's sake. Oh, what will my poor servants think, at their return, when they hear I am accused to be Spanish who sent them,—at my great charge,—to plant and discover upon his territory.

Oh, intolerable infamy! O God! I cannot resist these thoughts. I cannot live to think how I am derided, to think of the expectation of my enemies, the scorns I shall receive, the cruel words of lawyers, the infamous taunts and despites, to be made a wonder and a spectacle! O Death! hasten thou unto me that thou mayest destroy the memory of these, and lay me up in dark forgetfulness. O Death! destroy my memory which is my tormentor; my thoughts and my life cannot dwell in one body. But do thou forget me, poor wife, that thou mayest live to bring up my poor child.

I recommend unto you my poor brother A[DRIAN] GILBERT. The lease of Sandridge is his, and none of mine. Let him have it, for God's cause. He knows what is due to me upon it. And be good to KEMIS, for he is a perfect honest man, and hath much wrong for my sake. For the rest, I commend me to them and them to God. And the Lord knows my sorrow to part from thee and my poor child. But part I must, by enemies and injuries; part with shame, and triumph of my detractors. And therefore be contented with this

work of God, and forget me in all things, but thine own honor and the love of mine.

I bless my poor child, and let him know his father was no traitor. Be bold of my innocence, for God—to whom I offer life and soul—knows it. And whosoever thou choose again after me, let him be but thy politique husband. But let my son be thy beloved, for he is part of me and I live in him; and the difference is but in the number and not in the kind. And the Lord for ever keep thee and them, and give thee comfort in both worlds.

LETTER CLXIII. [CXVII.*] 1603. July.

[*Without signature or address.*]

## 1605.

## CLXIV. [*CXXXIX.**]

### TO THE LORDS OF THE COUNCIL.

From a transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of JAMES, Earl of SALISBURY, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield. MS. Addit. 6178, fol. 469 (**British Museum**). Without date.

LETTER CLXIV. [CXXXIX.*] 1605. November. To the Lords of the Council. [From the Tower.]

I HAVE not had any other affair with Captain WHITLOCK then familier and ordinarie discourse, neither do I know any other cause of his cumming unto me then to visite me; having not mich wherewith to busie himselfe.

I have sume time spoken to him, to finde the Earle of NORTHUMBERLANDS disposition towards me, from whom [*i.e.* WHITLOCKE] I never received other then a drie and frindless awnswere. From the Earle, I neither received letter, nor sent him any, either by WHITLOCK or any man else, since my trobles.

LETTER CLXIV. [CXXXIX.*]

1605. November.

Explanation of his intercourse with Capt. Whitlock, a retainer of the Earl of Northumberland.

With the French Imbasador[1] I have no affaires. His wife came hither once, with the Ladie of EFFINGAM,[2] and the pale being then down she saluted me, and desired me to give her a little balsemum of Guiana. WHITLOCK being then in her cumpanie, I sent it by him to her.

I sent your Lordships, in the beginnings of my trobles, a letter from Sir JOHN BODLE'S,[3] concerning RENSAY and others; and the same was my utter ruine. I did it to do the Kinge service. If I now knew anything, or could devise how this horribell and fearfull practise[4] might be discovered, then—if it were with the loss of my own life—as God liveth, I would give the one to performe the other. I beseech your Lordships to call to mind my many sorrowes, and the causes; and to remember my services and love to my countrie. And I beseech you in charitie, and for the love of God, not to make me more odious then ever the earth brought forth any, by suspecting me to be knowing this unexampled and more then develishe invention.[5]

Your humble servant,

W. RALEGH.

Endorsed, in Lord Salisbury's hand:

1605. 9 *November. Sir Walter Ralegh.*

[1] Christophe de Harlay, Count of Beaumont, who, when this letter was written, had just quitted London.

[2] Anne St. John, daughter of John, Lord St. John of Bletsoe, and wife of William Howard, Lord Howard of Effingham, son of the Lord Admiral Nottingham.

[3] So in MS. Meaning, doubtless, from the house in which he was desired to await the King's pleasure prior to his committal, as a State prisoner, to the Tower, in July 1603.

[4] The Gunpowder Plot.

[5] The following extract from an anonymous 'Advertisement' by some Government spy, about meetings on the Powder Treason, will sufficiently explain the occasion on which this Letter was written:—"Whitlocke, that is now in the Tower, was in the beginninge of somer last in the Archeduke's country, as he confest himself; and often, afterwards, came to the

1607?

## CLXV. [*CXL.**]

## TO THE LORD TREASURER SALISBURY.

From a transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of JAMES, Earl of SALISBURY, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield. MS. Addit. 6178, fol. 827 (**British Museum**). Without date.

LETTER CLXV. [CXL.*] — 1607?

To Lord Salisbury. [From the Tower.]

Nature of the mineral ores brought from Guiana.—Plans for the resumption of the enterprise.

I HAVE hard that Sir AMIAS PRESTON informed your Lordship of certain minerall stones brought from Guiana, of which your Lordshipe had sume doubt;—for so yow had att my first returne;—Secondly, that your Lordshipe thought it but an invention of myne, to procure unto myself my former liberty; suspitions which might rightly fall into the cogitations of a wise man.

Now, whatsoever difference your Lordshipe shall make between your own inriching and my misery, of which as yet I cannot by any means fear the worst; for the first, I protest before the majestie of God that one of those minerals here, and never before, tried, was not only found and gathered in the land of Guiana by myself, but thereof there may be had an aboundance sufficient to please every appetite, the mountayn being nire the river-side, and [the mineral] of easy cariage thither. Secondly, I take the same God to witnes that I never esteemed this minerall att any price, both in respect of the quantetie and of the similitude it had with other merquisite formerly found. And had not a refiner cume

Tower (after his returne), and theire accompanied Sir Walter Raughley." I believe that this notable extract contains the sole foundation of the calumny of which Ralegh complains in the Letter now printed.

LETTER CLXV. [CXL.*]
1607?

unto me, to try another mettall, to whome I presented this stone by chance, and without hope, I protest, before the everlasting God, that it never had cume into question all my life, for it had byne many times in my hand heretofore, to cast away.

The refiner that made the assay is a man very skilfull but poore, and it is trew that I promised him twenty pound, if he could find gold or silver in the oare. Now, if he have delt justly, or—in hope of the money—falcely, it may easily be examined. And yet that which most perswades me is that he offers to go in person, and is contented to be hanged there, if he aprove not his assay to be good. And, for the more surtie, I have reserved a little quantitie of each to make a second tryall.

I beseich your Lordship, then, to consider what I offer. And I beseich yow to way it in the ballance of your wisdome, and pietie,—which I cannot suspect but that the same doth yet hang in your hand, by sume one thride or string of your Lordship's great and auntient love towards mee. And because it may be objected that when I have a shipp [or] two or three, that I may turn my course sume other way; although I trust that your Lordship will not, for yourselfe, judg that in my old years I would becume a runagate and live from my wife, children, and frinds, in a strange countrie; yet, that others may not say that there was not care enough and caution had, I am content both to go and cume as a private man; that both the charge of the shipp be given to another—which I desire might be the bearer hereof—and that he have order that if I do but perswade a contrary course to cast me into the sea. Your Lordship may also appoynt the master, and all other officers. Only, if God give us leive to arive in sauftie, that uppon the land they may be directed by me, or by

LETTER CLXV. [CXL.*] 1607?

any joynt commissioneres; if your Lordship shall so please.

The charge of the jurney will amount to £5,000, of which if the Queenes Majestie (to whome I am bound for her cumpassion) and your Lordship will bear two parts, I and my frinds will bear a third; or if her Majestie and your Lordship will not adventure, I will finde meanes to beate all, and present her Majestie and your Lordship with the one half, so wee may be assured to injoy the rest.

The charg will be the greater in this respect, because we would ride at ancor 3 or 4 months in the river; and carying with us six paire of great bellowes, and bricke in ballast, wee would melt down the minnerall into ingots, as fast as wee gather it; for to bring all in oare would be more notorious.

My tymes are not long in the world; and I shall not be able, hereafter (if now), to performe such a jurney. Your Lordshipe may have gold good cheap, and may joyne others of your honorable frinds in the matter, if yow please. For there is enough. Your Lordshipe may releive me and my destroyed estate; and bind mee, more then ever, to live and dye your sarvant.

The jurney may go under the culler of Virginia, for NEUPORT will shortly return. We will break no peace; invade none of the Spanish townes. We will only trade with the Indiens, and see none of that nation[1]—except they assayle us. If your Lordship will send my Lord CAREW, or any elce, I will satisfye them in all perticulars; and rest your Lordship's, ever more to serve yow,

W R.

[1] The Spaniards.

1610?

## CLXVI. [*CXLV.**]

## TO JOHN RAMSAY, VISCOUNT HADDINGTON, (AFTERWARDS EARL OF HOLDERNESS.)

From a transcript made (in the last century) by the Librarian of JAMES, Earl of SALISBURY, from the Original, then in the Library at Hatfield. MS. Addit. 6177, fol. 241 (British Museum). Without date.[1]

LETTER CLXVI. [CXLV.*]

1610?

To Lord Haddington. [From the Tower.]

Proposals for a voyage to Guiana.

I GAVE commission to sume of [my] frinds to move your Lordship in a matter of great importance, if the attaining of honnar and riches may be so accounted. To troble your Lordship with the particulers I will forbeare, till such tyme as I may know wher any good thing offered by me may be accepted. For if in my late Soveraignes tyme,—in whose favor I had sum little interest,—I could not obtayne leve to adventure myne own lyfe and myne own estate to inrich her; because myne own honnor, fame, and benefite, had in all likelihode byne adjoyned; what may I hope for now, being altogather frindless in the world, except his Majestie, | who[2] | accordinge to the trust given hym by God, do vouchsafe to remmember that there is no prise[3] nor

[1] The original of this letter is, I believe, still at Hatfield, but apparently it is misplaced. The transcriber has headed his transcript with the date '1603,' without authority and against the internal evidence. Lord Haddington, to whom it is addressed, is the John Ramsay who was in attendance, as a page, upon King James, on the occasion of his visit to the Earl of Gowrie's house at Perth, in August 1600, and who so promptly struck his dagger into Alexander Ruthven on the King's cry of 'Treason! Murder!' Ramsay was knighted in 1600, created Viscount Haddington, in the Peerage of Scotland, in June 1606, and raised to the English earldom of Holderness in January 1621.

[2] So in MS. This superfluous '*who*' is possibly an error of transcription.

[3] MS. reads '*prqise*.'

LETTER CLXVI. [CXLV.*] 1610?

ransume for inocent blood; and that to suffer those to perish that are his (whatsoever a Middlesex Jurie hath sayed to the contrary) hath no destinction to satisfy that great God by whom kings reygn, and whom for ther mercie and truth he hath preserved.

But, my Lord,—leving the succes to God's providence,—it is a journey of honnor and riches I offer you; an enterprise fesible and certayne. And though it may be sayed that miserie feareth no change, and that my pretences and intentes are diverse, yet I beseech your Lordship to beleive that I am more in love with death then with falsehode, and that whatsoever Tyme, or Fortune, or I know not what else, hath taken from [me], yet nether of them, nor any poure else under Heaven, shall teache me, or force me, to be a knave. A base and unworthy remedie it were aganst imprisonment to forsweare God, to betray the King's mercie, and to cast away my frinds; to undertake a jurney full of hazards, and soe farr, to return agayne a perjured, false, and foolish knave. No, my Lord, when myne enimies have done ther worsed, and distroyed me and mine, yet the former (which is in myne own minde's poure) shall never be my destinye.

Yet, because I desire no truste, and that wise men may have warrant for their jelocies, I am content,—your Lordship liking it,—to follow yourself in this enterprise, as a private man. If your Lordship cannot obtayne the expense of such a tyme, I am content to be comitted to others; and, setting down the course and project in writing, if at ani time I perswade the contrarie, let them cast me into the sea. Secondly, when God shall permit us to arrive, if I bringe them not to a mountaine (nire a navigable river) covered with gold and silver oare, let the comander have commissione to cut of my head ther.

LETTER CLXVI. [CXLV.*] —— 1610?

If this bee not sufficient, I will presume to nominate unto his Majestie such commanders as his Majestie shall like of, whoe wilbe bound, bodie for bodie, to return me again live or dead; and if I have mistaken myselfe, and may be yet of more prise, his Majestie shall have forti thowsand pounds bond to boot.

Lastly, I pray your Lordship not to marvaile why I have desired to ingage you in this enterprise, and desire that yourself may be the commander. For I know that you are valient, and without falsehode,—qualities rarely found in one man in this age. I know that you are deere to the King. And I hope withall that, by your means, we shall injoy the fruites of our travails, and such parts as we adventure for and deserve. With which hope I rest your Lordships, to doe you service,

W. RALEGH.

# APPENDICES:

I.

*LETTERS OF LADY RALEGH* (1594-1618).

II.

*COMMERCIAL AND PRIVATEERING ENTERPRISES* (1589–1602).

III.

*CHARTS OF GUIANA* (1596).

IV.

*JOURNEY OF RALEGH AND COBHAM TO OSTEND* (1600).

V.

*IMPRISONMENT OF THE LADY ARABELLA STUART* (1602–1603).

VI.

*PLOTS AND COUNTERPLOTS OF* 1602–1603.

VII.

*RALEGH'S EXECUTION* (1618).

'Tell us, we do you pray,
Who, now, in Court doth bear the greatest sway?—
That if such fortune do to us befall,
We may seek favour of the best of all.'
'Marry,' said he, 'the highest now in grace
Be the wild beasts, that swiftest are in chase.'
. . . . . .
And, sooth to say, it is no sort of life
For shepherd fit to lead, in that same place,
Where each one seeks with malice, and with strife,
To thrust down other into foul disgrace,—
Himself to raise; and he doth soonest rise
That best can handle his deceitful wit
In subtile shifts, and finest sleights' devise,
Either by slandering his well-deemed name,
Through leasings lewd, and feignèd forgery;
Or else by breeding him some blot of blame,
By creeping close into his secrecy;
To which him needs a guileful hollow heart,
Maskèd with fair-dissembling courtesy.

SPENSER.

# I.—*LETTERS OF LADY RALEGH.*

## 1594.

## I.

### LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxii. § 50 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

SUR,

I RESEVED your tabells of no less rare device then the sentans within was cumforttabell. If faith wear broken with mee I was yet farr away, but I feare that my Mistris, if all hartes weare opene and all desiars knowne, might without so gret curiosetye of desciphering reed her owne desteni in a playne alphebett, but wee ar both great belevars, and therin wee flatter our seulevs and nurishe our owne mindes with what wee would. Now, Sur, for the rest I hope for my sake you will rather draw fur watar towardes the est then heulp hyme forward toward the soonsett, if ani respecke to me or love to him be not forgotten. But everi monthe hath his flower and everi season his contentment, and you greate counselares ar so full of new councels, as you ar steddi in nothing; but wee poore soules that hath bought sorrow at a high price desiar, and can be plesed with, the same misfortun wee hold, fering alltarracions will but multiply misseri, of wich we have allredi felte sufficiant. I knoo unly your parswadcions ar of efecke with him, and hild as

LETTER I.

1593-1594. Feb. 8.

Lady Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil.

Thanks for a book of tablets.—Allusion to some instance of the Queen's "curiosity of deciphering."—Entreaty that Cecil will not forward Ralegh's plan of an enterprise "toward the sunset."

LETTER I.

1593-1594. Feb. 8.

orrekeles tied to them by Love; therfore I humbelle besiech you rathar stay him then furdar him. By the wich you shall bind me for ever. As yet you have ever geveng me caus *to love and serve you for ever*,[1]

as shee that honnereth you most,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To my veri honarabell frind, Sur* ROBERT CISCIL, *Knight.*"

Endorsed: "8 *Feb.* 1593. *Lady Rawleigh to my Master. Tra. I.*"

## 1595.

### II.

### LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxi. § 29 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER II.

1594-1595. March 20.

Lady Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

Desiring that no impediment be suffered to the due course of law in a suit against the Earl of Huntingdon.

SUR,

AMOUNGEST many vertus hit is not your least to be a comfort to the greeved, and so ar you to mee with your honnorabell and kind lettar, whearby you fullfill the desiar of your absent frind, as allso bind me for ever to honnor you.

Sur WATTAR'S remembrans of me to you at his last departur shall ad and incres, if itt weer possibell, mor love and dew respect to him. I am in hope, er hit be longe, to heer of him, thought[2] not of longe time to see him. In which tim I shall fly to you in all my cumbars, as to the shurest staf I trust to in Sur WATTAR'S absens.

[1] These words in italics are strongly erased by pen-scratches and with an ink different from that of the letter; but they are now legible beneath the erasure.

[2] *though.*

LETTER II.
1594-1595.
March 20.

I thank my honnorabell mistris[1] for wishing me neer heer. To doo heer sarvis, and to injoy both your companies, I oft wish hit with heer; els, is an hermit's sell most fit for me and my mind at this time; beeing for a tim thus desevered from him that[2] I am.

I must intret your faforabell word to me Lord Keppar that hee will suffar me to folow the cours of law to me Lord of HUNTINGTON.[3] I desiar noo fafor ther in, but only sufferans. This berar can tell you the mattar. I rathar chuus this time to folow hit in Sur WATTAR'S absens, that my selfe may bear the unkinnes, and not hee; the moni being long time past dew to me. This,[4] for ever wishing you all honnar and happines, I end. Sherbon Loge, the xx of March.

Your asured pour frind,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the most honnarabell Sur* ROBART CISCILL.

Endorsed:

20 *March*, 1595. *The Lady Raleigh to my Master.*

## III

## LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxi. § 77 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER III.
1595.
April 7.

SUR,

THOUGHT[5] I fere I shall be trubbellsum to you with my desiaring lettars, yet I can not but wryt to you

[1] Lady Cecil.

[2] '*that*' is evidently here used in the sense of '*whose*.'

[3] Into whose hands Lady Ralegh's marriage portion, or part of it, had passed upon bond or mortgage. [4] *Thus.* [5] *Though.*

LETTER III.

1595. April 7.

Lady Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil. From Sherborne.

Recommendation of Arthur Radford, who is desirous of serving at sea.

at this time, in the behalfe of this bearer, hee being to Sur WATTAR as hee is; wich I knoo is a sufficent reson of your fafor and car of him. Not withstanding, to sattisfi myselfe in leavinge nothing undon, as nere as I may, to ani of his, I presum to desiar you that in this his desiar of gooing to see, hee may be grassed [1] and helped by you, wich I noo wayes dout of. And so, with all happi wishis to you and my honnarabell mistris, I end. Sherbon Loge, the vii of Aprill.

Your poore frind that honereth you,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the most honnarabell Sur* ROBARD CISCILL, *&c. &c.*

Endorsed:

7 *April*, 1595. *The Lady Raleigh to my Master. In favour of Arthur Radford.*

## IV.

## LADY RALEGH TO SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxxiii. § 53 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER IV.

1595. July 28?

Lady Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil.

Recommendation of a suit of Mr. Brett.

SUR,

PRESUMENG of your honnarabell fafor ever to me, I am bould to trobell you in the behalfe of this my kinsman Mr. BRETT; yet noo wayes fardar then I knoo in rit and honnar you may. Nether wold I requist, nether will hee intret, fardar your fafor then unly to hold a indeffrant openion of him, tell you heer the mattar hooly.

[1] *graced.*

LETTER IV.
1595. July 28?

The mattar is a falling out betune Sur RAFE HORES[1] and him selfe, which hath groon fardar then I wish with all my hart hit had; thay bothe being my veri good frindes. Yet for that the gretnes of the onne may, by his frindes, informe most faforabelly in his side, and so cos[2] more condemnacion on this my kinsman then ther is cas,[2] I ernestly intret you, good Sur, to stand indiffrant for my sake in this matter, when hit shall, or if hit doo, cum befor you. I am the mor bouldar to wryt for him, for I will[3] knoo the honestti and plane trewthe of the gentellman such as hee will informe—no, not on his own side,—mor then a trewthe. Unly his collar[4] is sumthing to be condemned wich men that stan so much on ther trew onnest[y], as I knoo this man doth, will me[5] moved if they reseve ronges.

This,[6] desiaring your pardon for my so oft trobelling you, I wish and pray for your grettest honnar and happiness. Sherbon Loge, the xxviii. of July.

Your Honnar's pour frind,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the most honnarabell Sur* ROBARD CISSIL, *on of heer Magistes most honnarabell Previ Concill.*

Endorsed:

25[7] *July*, 1595. *The Lady Raleghe to my Master. In favour of Mr. Brett.*

[1] Sir Ralph Horsey. [2] *cause.* [3] *well.* [4] *choler.*
[5] MS. '*me*' for '*be*.' [6] *Thus.* [7] So in MS.

1596.

V.

## LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. § 29 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER V.

1596. July.

Lady Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil. From Mile End.

On the return of Keymis from Guiana.

SUR,

I UNDERSTAND that *The Darling*, wherin KEMISH went to Gueano,[1] is com in to Yarmouthe safly, sum viij dayes paste. As yet, I have not heard on[2] worde from him or any of my mene theare, wich I wonder at, but that I thinke thay are rounning a bowte with the pinnis for London. As soune as I heer whear thay ar, if an't ples you to sende downe a man to them, as I will sende then on[2] to them, that you may knoo what thay have broute; wich cannot bee ani thing, as I thinke, much worthe, for that the Spanniardes ar allredi possessed in Gueano. I mean along the shoar, so as thay durst not lande. And also TOPEAWARE the King, that was heer Magisti's subgect, is ded, and his sun returned. Thus, Sur, you heer your poour absente frindes fortune, who, if hee had bin as well credited in his reportes and knooleges as hit simmethe the Spanniardes wear, thay had not now bin poscisars of that plas. Thus, humbly taking my leve in hast. Mil end, this Wensday.

Your poour frind,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To ihe honnarabell Sur* ROBARD CISCILL.

[1] *Guiana.* [2] *one.*

1597.

VI.

## LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lv. § 88 (Hatfield). Holograph.

LETTER VI.
1597. Sept.
Lady Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil.
Anxiety for news of Sir Walter.

SUR,

I KNOO not what to thinke. Thes gentellmen that ar com from the Flit can tell me no newes of Sir WATTER, but that he is goon befor me Lord Ginerall.[1] His shipe the *Gucano*[2] is cast away. This littell pinnes, *The Darling*, which this gentellman cam in, was the unly shipe hee had left him, and is com away unknoon to him,—apointed so by me Lord Generall.

For God sake, let me heer from you the trewth; for I am much trobled. Pardon my hast and skrebbling. This Thursday.

Your poore frind,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed:

*To the most honnarabell Mr. Sekretari.*

Endorsed:

*Sept.* 1597. *The Lady Ralegh to my Master.*

[1] The Earl of Essex. [2] *Guiana.*

## VII.

### LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C b, ii. § 36 (Hatfield). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER VII. — 1600. October.

Lady Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil.

Fire at Durham House.—News from Sir Walter at Jersey.

SUR,

HIT tis trew that your packet brought me the newes of the mischans of feeiar[1] at Durram Houes, wher, I thanke God, hit went noo fardar. Other wies, hit had rid ous of all our poour substans of plat and other thinges. Unly now the loos is of your cumpani | and my Lord COBHAM'S,[2] | wich I thinke by this menes wee cannot injoy this wintar.

Hit will be now a fit time for you to get sum intres[3] in that rotten houes for your selfe and your frind: other wies, I knoo none so un wies that will besto so mani hundred pounes as Sur WATTAR hath dun, without fardar intrest or asurans of hit. I besuch remembar hit now, soo shall not the Quine be trobled to bild the Bushope's ould stabels.

I ded heer from Sur WATTAR within too dayes after he landed at Jarsi: wher he was safly landed and rioly[4] intertaned with joye. But he was too dayes and too nites on the see, with contrari windes; not withstanding hee went from Wamouthe in so fayer a wind and weether, as littell WAT and my selfe brought him abord the shipt. Hee wrytteth to me hee never saw a plesanttar

[1] *fire.*

[2] The words between the upright lines are inserted in the MS. by interlineation.

[3] *interest.*

[4] *royally.*

iland; but protesteth unfannedly hit tis not, in valew, the veri third part that was reported, or inded hee beliffed. My cossin WILL[1] is heer,[2] very will,[3] and louketh will[3] and fat with his batheing. This,[4] wishing you all honnar and the full contentements of your hart, I ever rest

LETTER VII. 1600. October.

Your asured poour frind,

E. RALEGH.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I am glad this mischans of feeiar cam not by ani neckelegans[5] of ani sarvant of mine, but by me cossin DARCI'S sarvant,—a woman that delleth[6] just under our logging, and anoyeth ous infenitly. I hope hee will now remoueve heer. I humbelly besuch you let this lettar heer inclosed be sent.

Addressed: "*To the most honnorabell Mr. Sekretari, &c. &c.*"

Endorsed: "1600. *October. The Lady Raleighe to my Master.*"

## 1602.

## VIII.

### LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. lxxxv. § 134 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

SIR,

I UNDARSTAND that hit tis thought by me Ladi KELLDARE that you shuld doo me that fafor as to let me knoo how unfaforabel shee hath delt with me to the

LETTER VIII. 1601-1602. March.

[1] 'Will Cecil,' afterwards second Earl of Salisbury.
[2] Probably at Weymouth. [3] *well.* [4] *Thus.*
[5] *negligence.* [6] *dwelleth.*

LETTER VIII.

1601-1602. March.

Lady Ralegh to Sir R. Cecil.

On ill offices at Court, done by Lady Kildare (wife of Lord Cobham).

Queen. Hit tis trew that I shuld not have mistrosted so unhonarable a thought in heer to me, without good prowf. But I protest, as you knoo, I never understood hit by you; nether did I ever see you, or heer from you, sens heer ladiship deed me that good office. Therfor hit tis but heer mistaking, wich shee ewsseth to[1] much. I unly say this, that for the honnar I beear heer name and the auncient aquaintans of heer, I wish shee wold be as ambitious to doo good, as she is apte to the contrari. This,[2] ever wisheng you all honnar, I rest

Your asured poour frind,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the rite honnarabel Mr. Sekretar.*"

Endorsed: "*March*, 1601. *The Lady Raleigh to my Master.*"

## 1603.

## IX.

## LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 20 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

LETTER IX.

1603. Nov. 18?

To Lord Cecil.

IF the greved teares of a unfortunat woman may resevef ani fafor, or the unspekeabell sorros of my ded hart may resevef ani cumfort, then let my sorros cum before you —which, if you trewly knew, I asur my selfe you wold pitti me, but most espescially your poour unfortunat frind wich relyeth holy on your honnarabell and wontid fafor.

[1] *too.* [2] *Thus.*

LETTER IX.

1603. Nov. 18?

Entreaties for his intercession with the King on her husband's behalf.

I knoo in my own soule—wich sumthing knooeth his mind—that hee douth, and ever hath doon, not unlly honered the Keng, but naturally loveth him. And God knooeth [1] far from him to wish him harme, but to have spent his life as soune for him as ani cretuer leveng.

I most humly besiech your Honnar—even for God sake—to be good unto him; to onns more make him your cretur, your relifed [2] frind; and dell with the Keng for him—for onn that is more worti of fafor than mani eles; having worthe, and onnesti, and wisdom to be a frind. Pitti the name of your ancient frind on his poour littell cretuer,[3] wich may leve to honnar you; that wee all may lift up our handes and hartes in prayeur for you and youres. Bind this [4] our pooure famelies to prayes [5] your honnar and wonted good natur. Let the hole world prayes [5] your love to my poour unfortunat hosban. For Cristis sake, wich rewardeth all mercies, pitti his just case; [6] and God for his infeni marci bles you for ever, and work in the Keng merci.

I am not abell, I protest befor God, to stand on my trembling leges, otherwies I wold have waited now on you; or be derectid holy by you.

Shee that will trewly honnar you in all misfortune,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the most honnarabell my Lord* CISSELL, *&c. &c.*"

Endorsed: "1603. *Lady Ralegh to my Lord.*"

[1] "*it was,*" or some like words, have here, it is obvious, been omitted in the writer's agitation. [2] *relieved.*

[3] Walter, their son, then about eight years of age.

[4] For *these.* [5] *praise.* [6] *cause.*

1604.

X.

## LADY RALEGH TO SECRETARY LORD VISCOUNT CRANBORNE.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxc. § 6 (**Hatfield**). Holograph. Without date.

LETTER X.

[1604?]

Lady Ralegh to Lord Cranborne.

Entreaty for his interposition against seizures made by the Earl of Nottingham, under pretext of grants from King James, of part of Sir W. Ralegh's possessions.

MY GOOD LORD,

AS it hath plesed your Lordshept hetherto to be our only cumfort in our lamentabell misfortuns, so I most humbly beseich your Lordshept, both in cumpassion and justes, to speke one word to me Lord Admirall not to take from us by strong hand that which his Magesti hath geven us for our relife.

I might have hoped that me Lord Admirall—if wee might hope for anithing from any leving man—would rather have geveng us sumthing back agayne of his great porcion. His Lordshepe hath six thowsand pound, and three thowsand pound a yeare, by my husban's falle. And, since hit pleseth God that his Lordship shall build uppon our ruines, which wee never suspected, yet the porcion is great and I trust sufficient, out of onn[1] poour gentelman's fortun to take all that remaines, and not to louke backe before his Magisti's grant, and take from us the debts past, wich your Lordshept knoos ware stayed from us, by a proclamation, befor my husban was suspected of ani offence.

If me Lord's grant do beare them, and his conscience warrant hime, wee must yeild willingly to Gode's will

[1] *one.*

LETTER X.
[1604?]

and the King's. But if me Lord Admirall have no onn[1] word, in his grant, for them, then what neither the Keng, lawe, nor conscience, have geven from us, I trust his Lordship will espare us willingly.

God knous that our debts ar above three thoussand pound, and the bread and foode taken from me and my children will never augment my Lorde's table, though hit famish us. If your Lordshept, without his Lordship's ofens, can in charitie parswade his Lordshept to relinquish ether all, or but the half, of that wich belongs not unto him, wee shall be more and more bound to your Lordshept.

Who, being unworthi to be a frind, will remaine your Lordsheptes poour servant,

E. RALEGH.

Addressed: "*To the right honorable the Lord Vicount* CRANBORNE, *&c. &c.*"

Endorsed, in Lord Cranborne's hand: "1604. *Lady Ralegh.*"

The endorsement is followed by a list of names which reads thus:—

*Lady Rawlegh. Lady Saltingstone. Lady Woodroofe. Lady Bronker. Lady Pawlett. Lady St. Leger. Mrs. Killegrew. Lady Kingsmell. Lady Cornwallis. Lady Oxenbridg. Lady Throgmorton. Lady Walssh. Lady Sydley. Lady Herbert. Mrs. Blanch. Lady Martin* [?]. *Lady Cheek. Lady Trafford. Mrs. Goring.*

## 1609?

## XI.

## LADY RALEGH TO KING JAMES THE FIRST.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxcv. § 85 (**Hatfield**). Undated. Without subscription or signature.

LETTER XI.
1609?

I BESEICH your Majestie, in the mercies of JESUS CHRIST, to signifie your gracious pleasure concerning

[1] *one.*

LETTER XI.

1609?

Lady Ralegh to the King.

Entreaty that the King would spare to herself and her children some fragment of Ralegh's Dorsetshire estates,—of which the bulk had been given to Carr, after the gift of Ralegh's other possessions to the Earl of Nottingham.

my self and my poore children: That, whereas your Majestie hath disposed of all my husband's estate, to the valew of four thowsand pound a yeare, so that ther remayneth nothing to geve me and my children bread but one fee farme held of the Bishop of SARUM, which your Majestie hath bestowed upon my husband during his life, that[1] it will please your Majestie of your aboundant goodnes to relinquish your Majesties right in the reversion of that farm, and suffer those poore harmless children to injoy the same, in imitation of the most just and mercifull God, who though Hee punished the fathers yet Hee gave the land to the guileless and innocent children. And wee shall ever pray to God for the continewance and increase of your Majesties deerest cumfortes.

Headed: "*The humble Petition of the Ladie* RALEGH."

*** Attached to this Petition, in the present (and recent) arrangement of the *Cecil Papers* at Hatfield, is the following *Draft* of a royal letter to the Lord Treasurer Salisbury, which Draft bears this endorsement in the hand of the Lord Treasurer's secretary:

*Draught of a Warrant to pass to the Lady* RALEGH, *and her children, all his Majesties interest in the lands.*

'SALSBURIE,

'WHEKAS We understand that by rigor of law the 'reversion of Sir WALTER RALEGH'S lands may come 'into Our hands, yet seing his conveiance was made in 'the Queen Our Sister's time, as also because We have 'given to him self those lands for his own life, Our 'pleasure is that you cause a grant to be drawn for Us

[1] So repeated in MS.

LETTER XI. 1609?

'to signe, wherin all Our title and interest may be past 'over unto his wife and children, that We be no more 'troubled with their pittifull cries and complaints for 'that busines.'

1617.

## XII.

### LADY RALEGH TO SIR JULIUS CÆSAR.

From the Original. MS. LANSDOWNE, cxlii. fol. 282 (formerly numbered '292'). (**British Museum.**) Wholly in the hand of an Amanuensis. Without date. Written in 1617, after Sir Walter Ralegh's departure for Guiana.

LETTER XII. [1617. After June 30.] Lady Ralegh to Sir Julius Cæsar. Delays in the payment of her annuity from the Exchequer.

SIR,

MAY it please you to call to mynd that when my husband's land was taken away from hym and gyven to my Lord of SOMERSETT, all meanes and offices being gone from hym before, it then pleased the Kyng's Majestie to graunt his Patents to me, and after me to my eldest sonne, [for] 400*l.* by yeare, to be paid oute of the Exchequer. I then understanding the payments were slow, I desired a covenant of the Lords for performance of that payment, which I had, under their hands and seales, as your Honour knoweth:—the Earle of SALISBURY, being then Treasurer; the Earle of NORTHAMPTON; the Earle of SOMERSETT; and yourself. The two first Earles having performed their covenant with Death, the third beinge not in case to perform any covenant, I must flye to yourselfe, whose honor and charity is such as I make no doubt but you will see me satisfyed and relieved in this my just desire, being agreeable to His

LETTER XII.

[1617. After June 30.]

Majesties expresse comandement that I should receyve my payment without molestation or delay,—which I am dayly put of[1] by Mr. BYNGLEY.[2] I should have receyved 200*l.* at Michaelmas; most of it being long due to poore men from Sir WALTER, for his necessaries; and the rest to mayntayne me till Our Lady day. But I have not received one penny from the Exchequer synce Sir WALTER went.

I beseech you, Sir, to take some order for this, that I may not be thus contynually pynsshed for the payment thereof; and that you will be earnest with Mr. BYNGLEY and the officers that I may not be thus put of, from tyme to tyme; but that I may receyve ytt somewhat orderly; paying the fees due, which is fyve pounds in the 100*l.* Thus, desyring your honorable remembrance and speedy helpe, I rest

att your service,

E. RALEIGH.

Addressed:

*To my honorable good friend, Sir* JULIUS CÆSAR, *Knight, Master of the Rolles, and one of His Majesties most honorable Pryvy Councell.*

Endorsed, by Sir Julius Cæsar:

*The Lady Raleigh, that, according to the Kings Letters Patent and the Commissioners' covenant, she may receive her yearly annuity from the Receipt of the Exchequer.*

[1] *off.*

[2] An officer of the Treasury, under the Lord Treasurer Suffolk; and the "Sir John Bingley" of Bacon's speech against Suffolk, in the Star Chamber; where he is described as pimping for Lady Suffolk in her sale, for bribes, of her influence over the Treasurer.

1618.

## XIII.

### LADY RALEGH TO SIR NICHOLAS CAREW.

As printed (from the Original?) by MANNING and BRAY, *History of Surrey*, vol. ii. p. 495.

*** Nothing, I believe, is now known of the causes which led to the interment of Sir Walter Ralegh in St. Margaret's Church at Westminster, instead of at Beddington, as this Letter shows to have been at first intended.

LETTER XIII. — 1618. Oct. 30? Lady Ralegh to Sir N. Carew. On the burial of Sir Walter Ralegh.

I DESIAR, good brother, that you will be plessed to let me berri the worthi boddi of my nobell hosban, Sur WALTER RALEGH, in your chorche at Beddington, wher I desiar to be berred. The Lordes have geven me his ded boddi, thought[1] they denied me his life. This nit hee shall be brought you with two or three of my men. Let me here presently. God hold me in my wites.

E. R.

Addressed:

*To my best brother, Sur* NICHOLAS CAREW, *at Beddington.*

## XIV.

### LADY RALEGH TO LADY CAREW.

From a copy made by direction of Sir THOMAS WILSON. *Domestic Correspondence:* James I. vol. ciii. § 76 (**Rolls House**).

LETTER XIV. — 1618. Nov.?

MADDAM,

AS I remember when your Ladyship was last with me you towld me that you knew Sir THOMAS WILSON

[1] *though.*

LETTER XIV.

1618. Nov. ?

Lady Ralegh to Lady Carew.

Entreaty for the exercise of her influence to prevent the seizure, by Sir T. Wilson, of Ralegh's Library.

well, adding therunto good commendacions of him, I beseech your Ladyship that you will doe me the favour as to intreat him to surcease the pursuit of my husband's bookes or lybrary: they being all the land and lyveing which he left his poore child, hopeing that he would inheritt him in those only, and that he would apply himself to learninge to be fytt for them, which request I hope I shall fullfill as farre as in me lyeth. Sir THOMAS WILSON hath already, by vertue of the Kinge's letter, fetched away all his mathematicall instruments. One of them cost a £100 when it was made. I was promised them all againe, but I have not receyved one back. If there were any of theis books, God forbid but Sir THOMAS should have them, for His Majestie,—if they were rare, and not to be hadd elswhere. But they tell me that BYLL, the book-bynder or stacioner, hath the verry same. Thus intreating your Ladyship's favour that you wilbe a meane unto Sir THOMAS that I may be troubled noe more in this matter concerning the bookes; haveing hadd so many unspeakable losses and troubles as none of worth will seek to molest me, but rather give me comfort and help. Thus I rest, ever to be comanded,

and to love you truly,

E. RALEGH.[1]

[1] The "Lady Carew," to whom this letter is addressed, was Joyce Clopton, wife of George, Lord Carew of Clopton, the cousin and life-long friend of Ralegn, and afterwards Earl of Totnes.

## II. — *COMMERCIAL AND PRIVATEERING ENTERPRISES.* 1589–1602.

### I.

### PRIVATEERING ENTERPRISE OF 1589.

### THE ANSWER OF SIR WALTER RALEGH TO THE COMPLAINTS OF ALBERT REYNARDSON.

From the Original. *Cæsar Papers*, in MS. LANSDOWNE, vol. cxliv. ff. 57–60 (**British Museum**).



TO the *first* I aunswer, that my shippe being uppon the coast of Spayne the 26 of December last, mett with a hulke of the burthen of 350 tonns, named in an ould passe which they had out of the Admiralty, dated in July 1587, *The Aungell Gabriel*, but in their bills of ladinge the *Jobe* of Hamborough and Middleborough; which shippe came into Spaine by the backside of Ireland, in company with some of the King of Spaines fleete that had bene here. Yt appeered by diverse letters that were in her that much of the goodes did properly belonge to one GEYTOR, an. inhabitant in Cadys, and their maryed, and other Spaniards. Uppon theis presumpcions the Capten sent her to Plimmowthe by a gentleman of good accompt and lyving, named ARTHUR HALS; who at his comminge did send me such letters as were found in her, which I sent presently to the Judge of the Admiralty. And he, upon deliberate hearing and examinacion of the letters and circumstaunces, graunted a commyssion to Sir JOHN

GILBERT, Knight, the Maior of Plimmowth, CHRISTOPHER HARRIS, Esquire, NICHOLAS JONES, Gentleman, and MARTEN WHITE, to take the possession of the goodes and putt them in safe keeping. By vertue wherof the goods were unladen by inventory, which otherwise would have receaved greate spoile by the leakedge of the wynes. That which they found is put in safetie, and wilbe justly aunswered. If any spoile were made before by any disordre of the company, I disclayme and will not, neither am bound by lawe to aunswer for them therin, having not medled with any parte of the goodes. If she prove not prize, they may have her delyvered by like order from the Admiralty. Yet I thinke it as necessary (yf it shall so seeme good to your Lordships) that she should serve her Majesty in this journey if theie want shipping, as it is probable she served the King of Spayne in his Armado.

TO THE COMPLAINT OF WALTER ARTSON:—

To the *second* I aunswer, that I never heard by the Captens or any of the company that ARTSON'S factor, or any such fower buttes of secke, were taken into my shippe, neither did ARTSON or any men from him acquainte me with any such thinge. Their came none of the wyne to my handes, if any such were taken; therefore I am not bound to make him satisfaccion. Lett him charge the Capten, who, I doubt not, wilbe well hable to aunswer him.

TO THE COMPLAINTE OF WALTER ARTSON AND OTHERS:—

To the *third* I saie that although the shippe of Hamborough was laden with wheate to victuall the enimy,

and the shipper confessed that the goodes hidden in the wheate and taken out by the company of my shippe did belonge and were conseyned to Spaniardes dwelling in Spaine, and therefore desiered only to have his fraight or assueraunce for the same, which the Capten of my shippe gave him; yet uppon such slender proofe as was made to me by the merchantes of London and Hamborough (who have bene found to colour many such matters) I gave present ordre that there goodes should be all delivered them, without putting them to any further proofe or charge, as they wilbe ready to testify. And if their be any other that have goodes taken out of that shippe (as I thinke their be none) that hereafter shall come to me, I will give like order for restitucion.

TO THE COMPLAINT OF MICHAELL LEOMANS:—

To the *furth* I aunswer, that if any such sugar or mace were taken, yt was in the time that my shippe was in her Majesties service, wherof I never hearde, neither came any part of it to my handes. Therfore I am not to be charged with it, but the Capten, who is sufficient to aunswer the same. I do much mervaile that LEOMANS having bene often with me sithence the time that he pretendeth such sugar and mace to be taken, did never make any mocion to me of it, nor to any other about me. This maketh me doubt, that he is a colourer of this, as he and others are of matters of greater importaunce; seking the good and profitt of the common enemy, with the losse and hindrance of such of her Majesties subjects as to their great charge do adventure upon reprizall.

## II.

## ENTERPRISE FOR THE EXPORTATION OF PIPESTAVES FROM MUNSTER.

### 1590–1602.

ARTICLES TO BE CONSIDERED TOUCHINGE THE MAKINGE AND TRANSPORTINGE OF PIPESTAVES, ETC. OUT OF IRELANDE.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xxiv. § 68 (**Hatfield**).

APPENDIX II. Commercial and Privateering Enterprises. —— 1589-1602.

FIRST, the merchaunts of Waterford, Washeford,[1] and others, have heretofore of longe tyme used the transportinge of Pipestaves in to the Kinge of Spaynes cuntreys, with other comodities as they best lyked, without any restreinte.

Ralegh's Articles, sent to the Lords of the Council.

Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH, HENRY PYNE, and theire partners have transported only pipestaves and noe other comoditie whatsoever.

There hath been transported in these three years about 340,000 pipestaves, laden in 12 ships; the trees whereof they were made did not excede 700 tons of tymber, which, there to be solde, were not worth £40. And yet her Majestie hath receaved in custome, by twoo shipps retorned from the Canaries for our accompte, about £300, and by the shipps laden by others £600 or £700, as by the Customs Books may appeare.

Out of the woodes of Moggeley-Gee and Kilcoran, where this tymber hath byn felled, there hath not byn

[1] Wexford.

taken the hundreth tree. And those woods lye from the River of Lysfenny about three Englishe myles.

The place is of that nature that greate tymber can hardely be conveyed forth of those woods; but beinge wroughte, we are driven to carrye them by horse and on mens backs to our extreame charge. . . . .

The Undertakers of this busines have disbursed in theire buildings, the carryinge over of theire men, in workemanshipp and other charges, above £5,000, whereof there is not retorned the one halfe.

[It is then recited that the Undertakers entered on these large disbursements on the faith of the Queen's Letters Patent for fourteen years; and that above two hundred persons would be thrown out of work by the stoppage of the enterprise, besides the indirect injuries to local trade. (See also *Life*, chap. vi.; Vol. I. pp. 94-103.)]

## III. — *CHARTS AND OTHER PREPARATIONS FOR THE FURTHER EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION OF GUIANA, IN* 1596.

### THOMAS HARRIOT TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers,* vol. xliii. (Hatfield). Holograph.

APPENDIX III.

1596. July 11.

Thomas Harriot to Sir R. Cecil.

Proposals for the framing of Charts of Guiana, from the papers of Ralegh and Keymis.

RIGHT HONORABLE SIR,

THESE are to let you understand that whereas, according to your Honor's direction, I have been framing of a Charte out of some such of Sir WALTER'S notes and writings which he hath left behind him,—his principall Charte being carried with him,—if it may please you, I do thinke most fit that the discovery of Captain KEMISH be added, in his due place, before I finish it. It is of importance, and all Chartes which had that coast before be very imperfecte, as in many thinges elce. And that of Sir WALTER'S, although it were better in that parte then any other, yet it was don but by intelligence from the Indians, and this voyadge was specially for the discovery of the same; which is, as I find, well and sufficiently performed. And because the secrecy of these matters doth much importe her Majesty and this State, I pray let me be so bould as to crave that the dispach of the plotting and describing be don only by me for you, according to the order of trust that Sir WALTER left with me, before his departure, in that behalf, and as he hath usually don heretofore. If your Honor have any notes from Sir THOMAS BASKERVILLE, if it may please you to make me acquaynted with them, that which they will manifest of other particularytyes then that before Sir WALTER hath described shall also be set downe.

Although Captain KEMISH be not come home rich, yet he hath don the speciall thing which he was injoined to do, as[1] the discovery of the coast betwixt the river of Amasones and Orinico, where are many goodly harbors for the greatest ships her Majesty hath and any nomber; wher there are great rivers, and more then probability of great good to be don by them for Guiana, as by any other way or to other rich contryes borderinge upon it. As also, the discovery of the mouth of Orinico it self,—a good harbor and free passage for ingresse and egresse of most of the ordinary ships of England, above 3 hundred miles into the contry. Insomuch that BERREO wondred much of our mens comming up so far; so that it seemeth they know not of that passage. Nether could they, or can possibly, find it from Trinidado; from whence usually they have made their discoveryes. But if it be don by them the shortest way, it must be don out of Spayne. Now, if it shall please her Majesty to undertake the entreprise, or permitte it in her subjectes, by her order, countenance, and authority, for the supplanting of those that are now gotten thither, I thinke it of great importance to keepe that which is don as secretly as we may, lest the Spaniardes learne to know those harbors and entrances, and worke to prevent us.

And because I understand that the master of the ship with Captain KEMISH is somewhat carelesse of this, by geving and selling copyes of his travelles and plottes of discoveryes, I thought it my dutye to remember it unto your wisdome, that some order might be taken for the prevention of such inconveniences as may thereby follow: by geving authority to some Justice, or the Mayor, to call him before them, and to take all his writinges and chartes or papers that concerne this discovery, or any elce, in other mens handes, that he hath sold or conveyed them into; and to send them sealed to your Honor, as also to take bond for his further secrecy on that behalf. And the like order to be taken by those others, as we shall further

[1] Meaning '*that is.*'

APPENDIX III. Charts, &c. of Guiana.

1596. July 11.

informe your Honor of, that have any such plots, which yet, for myne owne parte, I know not of; or any other order, by sending for him up or otherwise, as to your wisdome shall seeme best.

Concerning the *Eldorado* which hath been shewed your Honor out of the Spanish booke of ACOSTA, which you had from WRIGHT, and I have seene, when I shall have that favour as but to speake with you I shall shew you that it is not ours—that we meane—there being three. Nether doth he say, or meane, that Amazones river and Orinoco is all one,—as some, I feare, do averre to your Honor; as by good profe out of that booke alone I can make manifest; and by other meanes besides then this discovery, I can put it out of all dout.

To be breef, I am at your Honor's comandement in love and duty farther then I can sodeynly expresse for haste. I will wayte upon you at Court, or here at London, about any of these matters or any others, at any time, if I might have but that favour as to heare so much. I dare not presume of my selfe, for some former respectes. My fidelity hath never been impeached, and I take that order that it never shall. I make no application. And I beseech your Honor to pardon my boldnes, because of haste. My meaning is allwayes good. And so I most humbly take my leave. This Sonday, 11th of July, 1596.

Your Honor's most ready at commandement
in all services I may,

THO. HARRIOTE.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CICILL, *Knight, Principall Secretary to Her Majesty, these.*

Endorsed:

11 *July*, 1596. *Mr. Harriott to my Master.*

## SIR GEORGE TRENCHARD AND SIR RALPH HORSEY TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. § 17 (Hatfield). In the hand of an Amanuensis.

APPENDIX III.

1596. July 31.

Sir G. Trenchard and Sir R. Horsey to Sir R. Cecil. From Dorchester.

Relating to certain documents concerning Guiana.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

To the purporte of your letters we have received into our handes, the Plott or Discovery of the Indias voyage, with other bookes which your Honour wrotte for, beinge in the custody of one SAMUELL MACE and WILLIAM DOWNE, whoe, uppon delyvery of them, made greate mone and complaynt unto us that the same shoulde be taken from them; doubtinge thereby that other men shoulde take the benifitt of their travell, and soe defeate Sir WALTER RAUGHLEY and them selves of the prosecution of their harde and daungerous adventure begone. In so muche that uppon monefull complaynt, beinge poore men and had great charge this voyage, beinge the onlye thinge they relye uppon for their good,—havinge bine imployed divers tymes before in the action to their great losse and hinderance,—by them selves and frindes have intreated us to solicite your Honor this far: That you wilbe pleased to let the Plotts remayne in our handes till Sir WALTER RAWLEIGHE returne—uppon whom yt shoulde seeme they wholy stande,—to be to him in salfty delivered; hopinge thereby to be further imployed by him in the said service; for whom they judge your Honour undertakes this that is done. In regarde whereof they hope your Honour will afforde them this favour. Yf otherwyse, these thinges that are in our custodye shalbe addressed to your Honor, with all the conveniency that maye bee. And soe, with the remembrance of our humble dutyes, doe take our leave. From Dorchester, the last of July, 1596.

Your Honours at commande,

GEORG TRENCHARD. RAUFE HORSEY.

Addressed: "*To the right honorable our very good friend, Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principall Secretary to her Majestie, give theis.*"

Endorsed: "*Sir Georg Trenchard and Sir Ralfe Horsey. Last July,* 1596."

## SIR GEORGE TRENCHARD AND SIR RALPH HORSEY TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xliii. § 72 (**Hatfield**). In the hand of an Amanuensis. Signed.

APPENDIX III.

1596. Aug. 10.

Sir G. Trenchard and Sir R. Horsey to Sir R. Cecil.

With certain charts and documents relating to Guiana.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

ACCORDINGE to your direction, wee have sent, by the ordinary poste, the Indyan Carde,[1] with two others not perfected, with a red booke and two other paper bookes. All which wee founde in the howse of one SAMUELL MACYE and WILLIAM DOWNE; one of which marriners wee judge will not be longe behinde his carde and bookes, hopinge to obtayne some favour at your Honours handes, to be imployed in the prosequution of the accion and for the obtayninge of the same agayne. And so, with the remembrance of our dewtyes, doe moste humblye take our leaves, wishinge your Honor longe happynes. From Wolveton, the xth of Auguste, 1596.

Your Honours to commaunde,

GEORG TRENCHARD. RAUFE HORSEY.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable our very good friend, Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Principal Secretary to Her Majestie, give theis.*

Endorsed:

10 *Aug.* 1596. *Sir George Trenchard; Sir Ralph Horsey; to my Master.*

[1] Chart.

## IV.—*JOURNEY OF RALEGH AND COBHAM TO OSTEND, IN JULY* 1600.

### HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, K.G. TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, Pillar C b iv. § 100 (Hatfield). Holograph.

APPENDIX IV. Ralegh's Journey to Ostend. 1600. July 10. Lord Cobham to Sir R. Cecil. From Sandwich. Arrival of Sir W. Ralegh and other friends of Cecil at Sandwich. —News of the war in the Low Countries.

MAY IT PLEASE YOU, SIR,—This nyght, Sir WALTER RAWLEY, with the rest of your pour frinds, cam to Sandwich, coming hither all the way by watter. We had thought to have found my Lord of NORTHUMBERLAND at Margat, but at our coming thether we understod that Sir EDWARD HOBIE [h]ad invited his Lordship to Quinborow, so that hee cam not thether so soun as wee imagined.

At Margatt, by Sir HENRIE PALMER, wee understod that for certayntie the Stats had raysed thear seag befor Newport, and that thear armie was seated befor the fort called *Izabella,* by Ostend; and that all the shipping that was within the Haven of Newport was commaunded to goe presently thens, which gav the mor probabilitie that then the Stats armei was gon from befor Newport.

But sins our coming to Sandwich all this former rapport is contraried. And from[1] them that this day cam from thens hav assured us that the Stats armie is still befor Neuport. So that now, God willing, we hould our former determination, and mean to morrow morning,

[1] So in MS.; the form of the sentence being altered towards its conclusion.

APPENDIX IV. Ralegh's journey to Ostend.

1600. July 10.

by 4 of the clok, to goo abord the Queens ship *The Adventure*, for Ostend.

Upon our arivall thear you shall hear from us. We hope to keep our tym of retourn, which I promised unto her Majestie. But, in this occasion, I hope that the precise tym of our retourn will not be expected.

This[1] I thought good to acquant you with our purpos; and not having other occasion to troble you mor, I leve you to God's protection. From Sandwich, the 10 of July, 1600.

Your loving brother in lawe to commaund,

HENRY COBHAM.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable Sir* ROBERT CECYLL, *Knight, Her Majesties Principall Secretary, and one of her Privy Consell.*

[1] *Thus.*

# V.—*IMPRISONMENT OF THE LADY ARABELLA STUART, IN* 1602–1603.

## I.

## ELIZABETH, DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY, TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xci. § 105 (Hatfield).

[EXTRACT.]

. . . . . .

ARBELL is nowe in minde, as she sayth, to make the parties name that she favoreth knowne to hir Majestie by any yt shall please hir Highnes to send hither, as maye appeare by hir owne letter to you here inclosed.[1]

For that Sir HENRY BROUNCKER hath ben ymployed before in theise matters, hir humble suit is that he maye be sent agayne. He is a verie discreete gentleman. She sayth she would more willingly imparte hir minde to him that doth alredie understand some part of theise matters, then to another.

I wishe she had ben better advised then to have entred into any of theise courses, without hir Majesties good allowance and appoyntment. The Almightie for ever prosper hir sacred Majestie. And so, wishing, &c.

[1] The inclosure here spoken of does not now accompany Lady Shrewsbury's letter.

APPENDIX V. Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603. Feb. 6.

Dowager Countess of Shrewsbury to Sir R. Cecil. From Hardwick.

Arabella's willingness to make disclosures, and her desire to see Sir H. Brouncker.

## II.

## THE LADY ARABELLA STUART TO SIR HENRY BROUNCKER.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers* (§ ROYAL LETTERS), vol. cxxv. ff. 130–142 (**Hatfield**).

[EXTRACTS.]

*** The portions here printed of this long and somewhat hysterical letter contain its full pith and substance. What is omitted is, for the most part, mere amplification of what is given.

APPENDIX V. Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603. March.

The Lady Arabella Stuart to Sir Henry Brouncker. From Hardwick.

Acknowledgments of past kindness. —Protest against the Commission of Inquiry now entrusted to him.—

SIR,

AS[1] you weare a private person I found all humanity and courtesy from you, and whilest I live will thanckfully acknowledge it, and with all humility and duty yeild Hir Majesty more due thanckes for first choosing and after, upon my humble suite, reemploying you, then for any or all the favours I have received from Hir Majesty since my birth to this day; and, if they weare all sett together, it farre exceedeth them all.

But your Commission was, as it seemed, so strangely streight that it was not possible Hir Majesties expectation should be better satisfied, which as I know it proceeded not of Hir Majesties gratious disposition, so was it not altogether long of me, but others, I dealt as I did. And you perceived somm[2] truthes which I confessed not; as you promised somm favours I found not. When it shall please Hir Majesty to afford me those ordinary

[1] Here used in the sense of '*when*.'

[2] MS. 'soñ,' and so in other like cases.

APPENDIX V. Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603. March.

Complaints of the Queen's ill-usage of her, through the adverse influence of Sir R. Cecil and of Sir J. Stanhope. —Allusions to her love affairs and their impediments.

rightes which other subjectes cannot be debarred of justly, I shall endevour to receive them as thanckfully now, as if they had binne in due time offred; though the best part of my time be past, whearin (my hart being not so seasoned with sorrow as it is) comfort should have binne wellcomm, and better bestowed because my hart was not then so overworne with just[1] unkindnesse. And Sorrow hath binne capable of joy, and thanckfully glad of evry small kindnesse or favour.

They are dead whom I loved. They have forsaken me in whom I trusted. I am dangerous to my guiltlesse frends—in all respects, if it weare not because they are my frends, as worthy Hir Highnesse' favourable countenance as theyr unjustly (to my disgrace, and their hurt) favoured enimies. So that I must conclude—as a privat person, I would trust you as soone as any gentelman I know, upon small aquaintance; but whilest Hir Majesty referreth the managing of any matter to those 2 counsellers,[2] Hir Majesty shall be abused. For I am able to prove Hir Majesty is highely abused in this matter, and I dare say no more then I have; and will rather loose my life then utter one word more then I have donne. Nay I will rather dishonour my selfe so much[3] to deny what I have affirmed, then committ my cause to theyr partiall examination and relation.

You delivered me at your first comming a most gratious message, whearin I apparently[4] discerned the long diswonted beames of Hir Majesties gratious inclination to me. I sincerely delivered the truth, and was rewarded with a most hard censure and frustration

[1] So in MS.; but obviously, the writer here employs the word '*unkindness*' in the sense of '*resentment*.'

[2] *I.e.* Secretary Sir Robert Cecil and Vice-Chamberlain Sir John Stanhope.

[3] The word '*as*' is here to be understood.

[4] In the sense of '*obviously*.'

APPENDIX V. Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603. March.

of my most earnest and reasonable suites that I might attend on Hir Majesty, or be from my Grandmother at least. But my woodden yoake was made of iron, and I can beare it, as long as I thinck good to convince them that impose it of hardnesse of heart; and shake it off when I thinck good to take my Christian liberty, which either shall be apparently[1] denied me and the whole world made judge upon what cause or coulour, or how justly given or taken, and by whom; or must be prevented by a reflux of Hir Majesties favour to me in greater measure then I have hitherto found:—which I do not doubt of, if it would please Hir Majesty to take that course which hir royall inclination would take to those of hir own blood, if it weare not, to my great astonishment, diverted from them to these 2 counsellers' kinred. They favour theyr kinred, against Hir Majesties. Hir Majesty defendeth not her innocent, unstained bloud, against theyr mallice. Doth Hir Majesty favour the Lady CATHERINE'S husband[2] more then the Earl of ESSEX' frend?[3] Are the STANHOPES and CECILLES able to hinder or diminish the good reputation of a STUART,—Hir Majesty being judge? Have I stained Hir Majesties bloud to unworthy or doubtfull marriage? Have I claimed my land these 11 yeares, though I had Hir Majesties promise I should have it? And hath my Lord of HARTFORD regarded Hir Majesties expresse commaundment, and threatened and felt indignation so much? Have I forborne so long to send to the King of Scots to expostulat his unkindnesse, and declare my minde to him in many matters;

[1] In the sense of '*obviously*' or '*openly*.'

[2] The Earl of Hertford, married to the Lady Katherine Grey, and grandfather of William Seymour, afterwards the husband of Arabella Stuart.

[3] *I. e.* the writer herself.

APPENDIX V. Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603, March.

and have no more thanckes for my labour? Doth it please Hir Majesty to commaund me by hir letter, in Mr. Secretarye's hand, to my Grandmother, to be soudainely examined for avoiding excuses? And will it not please hir, by a letter of hir owne hand, to commaund that which Hir Majesty cannot commaund, as my Souverin, but as my most honoured, loved, and trusted kinswoman? Shall I many weekes expect what I most earnestly begged and longed for; and must I reveale the secrettes of my heart, importing my soule, my life, all I hold deare in this world, in a shorter time then at your now first comming I told you I could; when it seemes Hir Majesty careth not for knowing anything concerning me, but to breake my just desires?

Shall Mr. HOLFORD[1] be sent for by commission, and I not have commission to send for whom I will, and I not protest I have hard mesure? Who can graunt out the Commission which can, even in good nature, good manners, or equity, require such a confession? Have I conceiled this matter thus long from frends, servants, kinsfolkes,—all the world,—to reveale it now?

JHON GOOD[2] was so extremely, cunningly, and partially handled, and I so injuriously intreated, that they who have either occasioned, executed, furthered, or suffred such rigour to light on me, and so long to continu, may thanck themselves if they have lost all the interest of voluntary obedience they had in me.

Do you thinck, I say, that I will reveale that to my servants or frends now, which shall be prejudiciall for

[1] An officer in Lady Arabella's service.

[2] Good, also, was in the writer's service; and it would seem that the treatment here referred to occurred upon occasion of a former commission of inquiry into the circumstances of an alleged contract of marriage.

APPENDIX V. Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603. March.

them to be suspected to ghesse at,—much more to know,—much more to conceale? I can assure you all that are of my counsell are out of all possibility of danger, and out of your reach. Neither doth Hir Majesties commaundment prevail so farre, though her fame and intreaty be every where glorious and powerfull. And, for my selfe, I will rather spitt my tongue in my Examiner, or Torturer's, face, then it shall be said,—to the dishonour of Hir Majesties abused authority and bloud,—an extorted truth came out of my lippes.

It would have binne an eternall honour to Hir Majesty that she, whom neither the Privy Signet nor the Great Seale of England had availed in great matters and ordinary courses, durst trust the 2 first lines of hir Souveraine's hand, after such a retrograde course as hathe binne held against me these many yeares, with that infinitely deare adventure. If Hir Majesty have regarded my contentment, or most bitter teares of discontent, heartofore; I may hope Hir Highnesse may do so hearafter. And so Hir Highnesse hath, when a noble unintreated mediatour, who now holdeth his peace, hath delivered his opinion of my traictement. But I am growne a woman, and thearfore, by Hir Majesties own saying, am not allowed the liberty of graunting lawfull favors to princely sutors. How, then, dare subjects justify theyr nost justifiable affection?

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. . . . . Admitt I had binne in love, and would have declared his name; I assure you on my faith I would have delivered it you in writing, and, by my good will, have seene you no more after, till I had binne

out of feare of blushing,—which though I did not, as I thinck, while you weare heere, I should have done; or at least did, within few dayes after you weare gonne. But theare was somm cause, though very little. But it was true, and no suposition or false accusation, or authorised examination, which wrought that (with me) very unusuall effect; which I am lothe to be accused by, though it be a very fallible conjecture even with me, or I thinck any body; then by the false tonges of as many as list to conspire with my enimies in uttering, soothing,[1] and augmenting theyr authorised lies. And thearfore, what so ever an other would do, I know and assure you I would rather write then speake my minde in a love-matter, espetially of my owne.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

I have conquerd my affection. I have cast away my hopes. I have forsaken all comfort. I have submitted my body and fortune to more subjection then could be commaunded. I have disposed of my liberty. I have cutt off all meanes of your attaineing what you seeke, till you seeke it of me by such meanes as I tell you.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

From Hardwick, this Ash Wensday.

Your pore frend,

ARBELLA STUART.

[1] '*To sooth*' would here appear to be used in the sense of '*to confirm*' or '*corroborate.*'

## III.

## THE LADY ARABELLA STUART TO THE DOWAGER COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxxv. § 143 (Hatfield).

[EXTRACT.]

APPENDIX V. Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1602-1603. March?

Lady Arabella Stuart to the Countess of Shrewsbury.

Love affairs.

. . . . . As I may compare the love of this worthy gentleman (which I have already unrevocably accepted and confirmed, and will never deny, nor cannot nor will repent, whatsoever befall) to gold which hath bine so often purified that I cannot find one fault to me,—jelousy onely excepted,—so I have dealt unkindly, shrowdly, proudly, with him.[1] And if any living have cause to thinck me proud or shrowd it is he, whom I have loved too well (even since I could love), to hide any thought, word, or deede of mine from him, unlesse it weare to aw him a little, when I thought his love converted into hate; for I did him the wrong to thinck so a great while. . . . . .

. . . . . .

[1] ". . . . Being demanded what this gentleman was, with whom she hath 'dealt so unkyndly,' . . . . she answeared that it was '*the Kinge of Scots*,—with whom, I appeale to Nelson, whether I have dealt privily or noe.' . . . ." (*Report of the Examination of the Lady Arbella*, 2nd March, 1602-3; *Cecil Papers*, vol. cxxxv. § 153. Hatfield.) The Nelson here "appealed to" was one of her servants. Well might the fair examinant write, a few days afterwards: "*I can overrule my tongue*, howsoever I am overruled otherwise." (Ibid.) She had declared, *before* the examination, that nothing should be wrung from her which it was her wish to conceal. Sir Henry Brouncker, in his official report, says that her answers were such as to excite a suspicion—at least for the moment—that her mind was disordered. It would almost seem, from some of her own letters, that she desired, at this time, to excite such a suspicion. But obviously her most passionate desire was to escape from the guardianship of her grandmother.

## IV.

## SIR HENRY BROUNCKER TO SECRETARY SIR ROBERT CECIL.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcii. § 73 (**Hatfield**).

[EXTRACT.]

APPENDIX V. Imprisonment of Arabella Stuart.

1603. March 25.

Sir H. Brouncker to Sir R. Cecil. From Hardwick.

His uncertainty as to the Council's resolves about the Succession; and as to the continued imprisonment of the Lady Arabella.

. . . . HOWBEIT, if there be no other remedye but I must here attende the heavy evente of future evills, God's will be don. I am resolved in life and death to love you, and will pray that God will rewarde your well deservinge of your friends and contry with unexpected happynes. For myself, I can hope for no contentmente nor saftye, nor know how to direct my course, unles it may please you to advertise me whether anythinge be resolved concerning a Successor; that so I may shewe my faythfulnes to the State, which through my ignoraunce of your Honor's jugement and proceedings may be broughte in question. And, besides, I know not whether (after Her Majesties decease) I may retayne the Lady ARBELLA, without a warrante under the Great Seale of Englande; whereof I desire to be resolved, least, affecting the reputation of faithfulnes, I incurr the opinion of indiscretion, and cumme into daunger. . . . .

# VI.—*THE PLOTS AND COUNTERPLOTS OF* 1602–1603.

## I.

## LORD HENRY HOWARD (AFTERWARDS EARL OF NORTHAMPTON) TO SECRETARY SIR R. CECIL.

[EXTRACTS.]

From the original Minutes or rough draft. MS. COTTON, Titus, C vi. ff. 386–392 (**British Museum**). Holograph. Without date, superscription, or address; and imperfect. Headed, in Sir ROBT. COTTON'S hand: '*Contra Rawlegh et Cobham.*'

[*The beginning is wanting.*]

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

. . . . . to crave for their owne pleasur, and to your future prejudice.[1]

1602. [Probably, between March and June.]

1 There is, somewhere, another MS. of portions of this letter, or letters, which I have been unable to find. It appears to have been used by the Editors of the Oxford edition of the *Works of Ralegh*, and is there quoted as one of the "*Burghley Papers.*" Lord Burghley died in 1598. This correspondence began in 1602. What is given of it in the collective *Works* (vol. viii. pp. 756-770) so abounds in errors of transcription, and in false readings, that a large proportion of the matter there printed is scarcely intelligible. In several instances, one half of a sentence is inaccurately printed, and the other half is omitted, without explanation or remark. What is here given, from the writer's autograph, is printed word for word, as in the original, wherever the Editor was able to read it. Illegible or doubtful words are specified in the foot-notes. The Oxford print affords no help towards completing the imperfect and obviously important sentence with which the autograph Minute in MS. Titus, C vi., begins. That Minute, it may be added, bears the look of a mere rough draft; but part of its confused state is probably due to the blunder of the bookbinder in collation.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

1602. [Probably, between March and June.]

Lord Henry Howard to Sir R. Cecil.

Suggestions as to the means of injuring Ralegh and Cobham in the Queen's opinion.—Impediments to the Queen's service arising out of their unpopularity.—Advice that Cobham should be employed in some negotiation with Spain.

The first thinge, therefor, that must be don is to prepar the Quene's mynd to accept mor willinglie, and mor easilie beleve, the proposition wee afterward menntion, or opportunitie shall caus to be delivered. Hir Majesty must knowe the rage of their discontent for want of being called to that height which they affect; and made to taste the perrill that growes out of discontented mynds, untamed by due reverence of loyaltie. She must know that the blame is only laid on hir, in their opinion, though danger make them seek to cover and disguis the reste[1];—complayning to their frends of ministers of State, and threatninge the better sort,—with words of spleen and passion,—to requit their curtesie, if occasion be offered.

This course, if there wear anie vertewe or valewe in the men, I doo confess myght make a fearfull princess more enclinabel to give them entranc,[2] for fear of working mischief in the State;—as the philosopher adviseth wise howsholders: '*Dare pueris crepitacula, ne quid perfringant in domo.*' But the Queen doth so well understand their levitie, indignitye, and slander, and[3] interest which theie hold in the world's conceit;—acordinge to that exposition of the word *Thecel* by the prophet Daniel: *Appensus es in statera, et inventus minus habens;* as ther is no doute of hir relentinge. So that roundly hir Majestie must daily, and by divers meanes, be let to knowe the worlde's apprehendinge hir deepe wisdome in discerninge the secret flawes of their affections. She must see some advertisements from forrain parts of the greif which

[1] This word is doubtful.

[2] Meaning entrance into the Privy Council. Compare the passage in Cecil's Letter to Sir George Carew (written in June 1601), quoted in Vol. I. p. 262, with passages in R. Whyte's letters to Sir R. Sydney, of same date, printed by Arthur Collins, in the *Sydney Papers*.

[3] So in MS.; '*the*' being omitted.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

1602. [Probably, between March and June.]

the Quene's enimes doo take at their sittinge[1] out; hoping that their placinge in authoritye wold so farr aliene the peoples reverent affection, as some mischef wold succeed of it. She must be taught to see the perrill that growes unto princes by protectinge, countenancing, or entertaininge persons odious to multituds, without necessity to warrant grace. For ther is no question but EMPSON and DUDLEY had a kinde of serviceable enclination to the present State, in the time of the King hir grandfather; and yet, at the cominge in of Henry the 8, no sacrifice besids their lives could be found proximately,[1] for the people's discontent,[2] though both LOUVEL and the Bishoppe of Durham, that wear councellors to the deceased, did all they coulde to quitt them of extremitye. Some pageants of theirs must be brought to light dailye, that maie move her spleene, and cheflie—if it be possible—some touch wherin theie seeke to make some benefit of the Quene by delusion or cousening. . . . . The Queene must know the weakenesse of theas gouvernors in places which they have in charge, and howe much is often drawen from the service by the distast of their insolencye. For as her Majesty hath first,—as reason is in the eie of observatioun,—the furderanc of her owne ends, so must she be perswaded that those shrincke by weakenesse of the ministers that deale in them. She must be told what canons ar concluded in the Chapter of Durham, whear RAWLYE'S wife is presedent; and withall how weakely COBHAM is induced to comende the courses that ar secretelie inspired by the consente of that fellowshyppe. Evrie one havinge at his hart a mortall gripe of some particuler that vexeth him: NORTHUMBERLAND

[1] So in MS.

[2] Here the MS. repeats the words '*besids their lives*' of the line immediately above.

is mad that any man should be thought so fit for place of martiall employment as himself, havinge never before the last year's siege, beholden either place or service that might make him capable of any command in a less jeopardaie; COBHAM dies to think that any man alive should be thought so fitt for any place that falles, vewinge both his owne person and his quality in glasses of false presumption. . . . . RAWLIE, that in pride exceedeth all men alive, findes no vent for paradoxis, out of a councell bord; but, holdinge absolutelie lost to him what others gaine, inspireth COBHAM with his owne passions, that by such a trunk they may be carried to another ear; and cares not at what rate he purchase opportunitie to vex others, having no great hope of ascending to his owne altitude. His wife, as furious as PROSERPINA with failinge of that restitution in Court which flatterie had moved her to expecte, bendes her whole witts and industrie to the disturbance of all motions, by councell and encouragement, that may disturbe the possibilitie of others' hopes, sinc her owne cannot be securid. . . . It should be put into the Queene's head indirectlie howe unable men ar to advertis any point of moment, that ar hated in a State. For intelligenc is grownded uppon trust; and all men are very farr from trustinge persons neither valewed for worth, nor affected for curtesy. Thus much touchinge the discussion that must be used, in distastinge the Quenes judgement toward them, in such sort as I said befor, that she may be more apt to receave impressions of more importante reasons, when time serves with opportunitye.

Out of the division of provinces wherof we spake befor, it doth behove us to direct our industry that everie motion may be caried uppon his proper poles. . . . The waie that COBHAM hath elected to ingreate himself is

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

1602. [Probably, between March and June.]

by the Peace with Spaine,—which hath so many difficultes as will rather confound his dizziness then reward his industry. But as my Lord of LESTER dealt with my brother[1]—finding his humor apte to deale with Scotland, when he thrust him into treatie about thos affayrs, assuringe him self that either he should loos the Quene for the present, or the other Quene for the futur—so must you embark this gallant COBHAM by your witt and interest, in some cours the Spanish waie, as either may reveale his weakenesse or snare his ambition. If the Queen wear once constant to her first election, or unmovable by circumstance from those degrees wheron she pitcheth her direction *in primo motu*, ther wear littell good to be don. But sinc you maie be sure of the advantage first in hand with hir [?], and afterward, in treating that, if things[2] be beheld[2] to come forward, you maie turne the streame another waie; and if theie be not, breake the neck of the negotiation,—either by imputation of wants, or aggestion of error, or insinuation of inwardenesse, or ascription of infelicity. Be not unwilling both befor occasion of any further employment, to ingage him in the traffick with suspected ministers; and, uppon the first occasion of farther treatie, to make him the minister. For my own part, I account it unpossible for him to scape the snares which wit may sett, and weakenesse is apt to fall into. The Quene did never yet love man that fayled in a project

fol. 387, verso.

of importance put into his hand. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

[1] Thomas, ninth Duke of Norfolk (fourth of the Howard dukes), who was attainted and beheaded in 1572.

[2] These two words are somewhat conjectural, being scarcely legible. They seem, however, to be the right reading.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

1602. [Probably, between March and June.]

We see that theas two gallants, having onc chosen to converse *inter αμφιβία*, . . . . . devide their provinces at this day, touching traffick of the State, with so great artifice, as, if the Peac goo forward, COBHAM prospers by his industri; if it doo not, RAWLIE by his opposition. In matter of intelligence COBHAM is commended as most secret; in matter of action RAWLIE blazed as most sufficient. COBHAM in discoursing hath holden a kind of privelege to vent his passions; RAWLY, to temporize. COBHAM must have the rough hand of ESAU, in exeqution of rigor; RAWLIE, the softe voic of JACOB in courtlye hypocrisy. COBHAM must delight, seconde, inveigle, and possesse the Queen's opinion,— by improving dangers, casting figurs, and contrivinge invectives against the Scottish hopes, pretensions, and actions. RAWLY must insinuat his own affection, applaud their expectations, and concurr with them. COBHAM must in all things tender[1] the consirvation of the present State, to maintayn his owne tenur. RAWLIE must perswad anticipation, for prouf of knowne destini. COBHAM must exclayme against the small account and reckininge that is made of noblemen. RAWLIE must in all discoursis hold them to bee fooles, and therby unsufficient for charge; or cowhards, and therfore uncapable of lieutenancye. COBHAM must relate, and gain the credit of the Queen's satisfaction; RAWLY must inspir and romanc; secur from justification. COBHAM must be the block almighte, that gives oracles; RAWLIE must [be] the cogginge spirit that still prompteth it. . . . . .

fol. 390.

. . . . . .

The patience of theis in being thus well pleased with a cupp of cold water, when their sowle doth thirst for *aqua*

fol. 390, verso.

[1] Apparently, this is the reading of the MS., but the word is doubtful.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

1602. [Probably, between March and June.]

*vitæ* of the highest kinde; their humble carriage, in so great oppression of hart; their dissimulation of supposed and pretended wrongs; their resolution to watch; their custome to praye; their satisfaction to fast;—in presence[1] [?] of that sufficiency to judge—of that agility to cumpare—of that temper to prayte—of that enclination to stirr—of that disposition to mutine—of that eagerness to revenge—maie move you to conclud that in their own judgments they conclud the ruin of their credit is uppon opposition to you, and the weaknesse of their advantages, upon contradiction of opposits. Wheruppon, since it is certain that this lough in the wind is only for advantage for the ventinge of their passions; and this advantage cannot choos but growe by time, uppon occasions that ar either publick or privat; it wear good to gain the start,—which winns the garland in all prizes of this natur; and cutte down the thorne, befor the time come wherin it can make account to take hold of you. For to give them a blowe in the Queen's conceit—once possessid with suspicion and prejudice after their suggestions—must of necessity be found mor harde then nowe, when neither the Quene, for her privat humor, nor the State, for any publick use or employment, doth stande in any need of them.

Since, therfor, the maine foundatiouns of the futur buildinge in a diverse elemente is grounded upon Peace with Spaine, and combination with the North; out of theas two respects there may be waies invented to dissolve them, befor they ascend into those higher regions that should sende them backe, like meteors, with combustion of crudites.

That out of Scotland littell good is to be don, we

[1] This word is doubtful. In the MS. it is abbreviated, and looks like '*prsn*,' or '*phsn*,' of which it is hard to make any sense.

1602. [Probably, between March and June.]

gather by their daintiness to write; by the littell good they gotte, or their sollicitor, at the last embazy; by their diffidence in that untrustie nation; by their uncertainty of the Kinge's acceptance; and in respect of the danger that may yet growe to them, in the case they should not accept—like the witches of Sevile in Spain, which, having all renownced their beleafe, yet wear not all possessed of the power of illusion—by causing their knight first to sownde the passage, befor they put in their foot; by giltiness of their own opposition to persons, that in favor have the start; by danger of discoverie,—consideringe the Secretarie[1] doth not favor it. Without their adventur, we can derive no grownd of operation. Of their adventuringe, against so many palissados of pike, there is no probabilitie in such craftie fellowes. Therefor the life of operation, in this degree, may be reputed desperat. . . . . .

. . . . . .

fol. 392.

I have hard it noted in my Lord of SUSSEX that when my Lord of LESTER had no other way to take advantage of his oversights, . . . . but by stopping the springs of bowntie (sinc he lived farr above his rate), . . . . . it stirred him so forcibly, out of unkindness, emulation, necessitie, and disdayne; as in a passion he grewe,—twice or thrice in my time,—to speake thos words to the Quene which lost him absolutelie that advantage which temperance, attendance, and respect to take his best advantage in dewe time, might have steaded him much, to the knapping in sunder of thos spider-webbes that wear only spun for rash adventurers that wear not masters of their owne abilitye. It did my Lord of LESTER no great good, as I conceav,—that

[1] So in MS., meaning either Cecil himself, or else the Scottish Secretary of State.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

1602. [Probably, between March and June.]

furie thrust out, through passion uppon a sodain thwart, [more?[1]] then repentance afterward could coole: for men growe more wise; yet Princes growe not less sensitive.

It is trewe that theas wear greater men of worth and vallew, but not in opinion and pride. And therfor by howe much this man [RALEGH] wanteth better helpes by nature, art, or industry, to countenanc a pride above the greatest Lucifer that hath lived in our age, by so much shall he sooner runne himself on ground in rage, and make the Queen more sensitive in scorninge so great sawciness in so great infirmity. Besids the sparks and flabs of fier that will break out of conflict, assur yourself it will enflame him with some violent desir uppon the sodain to shuffle the Stoik; and findinge that his rest is set uppon so slender cards, looke all the waies and wrinches that he can, for a better gain; which will bring him into that snare which he wold shunn otherwise.

If it wear possible to drawe '30' [King JAMES the Sixth] to consent that advantage might be taken of their traffick with his ministers,—or by interception of meanes and instruments that concurr *in termino*, by making his own satisfaction their rendezvous,—it wear not possible to make shorter nor surer work, then by this overtur. But as they will not write, without some stronge motive of confidenc; and after such a warrant is awarded by the King he will not willingly permitt the cancellinge or defacer of his owne workemanshyppe, therfor no good is to be brought to pass in that circumferenc. Besids, it maie be that the King will be afraid that such a scandale maie discourage others for embarkinge, out of fear that ther is intelligence betwen the scowts and the enemy. . . . . .

. . . . . .

[1] This, or some other like word, is wanting in MS. to complete the sentence.

## II.

## THE COUNT OF ARENBERGH TO HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. xcvi. § 53 (Hatfield). Holograph.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

1602. Nov. 22.

Count Arenbergh to Lord Cobham. From Brussels.

Desire for a renewed conference. —Importance of a Peace.—His wish to receive a promised portrait.

MONSIEUR,

L'AFFECTION et zèle que je porte au bien publicq m'ha donné courrage de vous escripre la presente, pour entendre si vous demeurez encores près de vous si constant qu'il n'y peult avoir aultre conference, sans que nous envoions pour trauter chez vous.

Je vous supplie, Monsieur, me voulloir tant obliger de me faire entendre librement sur cela vôtre opinion; ne faisant doubte d'une bonne responce bien agréable: vous asseurant que je m'emploieray tant affectueusement pardeià en ce faict, comme je voy que la calamité en quoy le pais et generallement tout la Chrestienté est, le requiert;—m'asseurant reciproquement de votre bonne affection à ce bon œuvre tant publicq; et avecque cest asseurance je demeureray,

Monsieur,

Votre bien humble et très affectioné serviteur,

CHARLES D'ARENBERGH.

De Bruxelles, le 22[me] de 9bre, 1602.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—Long temps y a que j'attende avecq devotion la pourtraiture par moy tant desiré, lequel, je

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

1602. Nov. 22.

vous promets, sera si bien venu comme l'affection de l'avoir me presse.

Addressed:

*A Monsieur, Monsieur* COBHAM, *Chevalier de l'Ordre Gartiere, Gentilhomme de la Chambre de la Serenissime Reyne d'Angleterre, et Gouverneur des Cincq Ports.*

Endorsed: "22 *November*, 1602. *Count of Arenbergh to my Lord Cobham. From Brussells.*"

## III.

## HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, K.G. TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. c. § 33 (Hatfield). Holograph.

1603. May 23.

Lord Cobham to Sir R. Cecil. From Black Friars.

Correspondence with the Count of Arenbergh

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR LORDSHIP,

THIS berer, sonn to MARTIN DE LA FALIE,[1] brought me this letter of recommendation from the Count of ARENBERG, whow it seams had a desir to com and see his Majestie and our new world. The partie, as I understand, hath both kindred hear,[2] and divers honest merchants that be of acquaintens. I hear but honestly and well of him. His abod with him will not be many days, but [3] hath a intension to retourn.

ARENBERG doth imagin my credit to be as formerly it was. Otherwis, he wold recommend his frinds to others then to my sealf, who far may better stead them. I hold it my part to acquaint you herwith. And so I committ your Lordship to God's protection.

From my hous in the Black Friers, the 23 of May, 1603.

Your Lordship's humbly to commaund,

HENRY COBHAM.

[1] Faille. [2] *here*. [3] Original letter thus omits "*he*."

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—May it pleas your Lordship, I wold be loth in any kind to be offensive to your Lordship, but wold willingly, if it pleas you, wayght upon you at your next coming to your hous, which if I may know, and that you will send for me, I shall tak it as a great favour.

1603. May 23.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lord* CISELL, *his Majesties Principall Secretarie.*

Endorsed:

23 *May*, 1603. *Lord Cobham to my Lord.*

## IV.

## HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. c. § 36 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

MAY IT PLEAS YOUR LORDSHIP,

1603. May 24. Lord Cobham to Lord Cecil. Thanks for the promotion of his suit for leave to go abroad.—Patent for Exportation of Woollens.

I PROTEST befor God I cam away from you yeasterday, as well satisfised; and your undertaking for me to his Majestie that I may traveyl presently [? I take] mor kindly then I can express. And I protest unto you that conceatt of unkindnes on my part is clean wiped away. For I take this favour from you as an argument of your respect towards me.

In my perticular, now, I will desir to be behculding unto your Lordship. Your Lordship may pleas to remember that I have a licens of cloths.[1] For me now to stand upon it, I know I should not prevayll; and therfor

[1] *I. e.* a licence for the exportation of woollens at reduced rates of duty; such as had frequently been granted to Leicester, to Burghley, to Hatton, and to Ralegh.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counterplots of 1602-1603.

1603. May 24.

will not undertake impossibilities. But in this kind I may receav favour, and sum profitt,—by your favourable letter unto STONE, the mercer, who is Maister of the Company of the Clothworkers. Hee may deall with them to compound with me for my Patent. Sum two or 3 words unto him—that you will thanck him, if this he will undertake for me—and this wilbe effected; and you a means to bring sum £400 to my purs, which wer better gotten then lost. If this you will do, I humbly pray that your letter may be sent me by this berer, and if it wer written with your own hand it wold be to my most advantage. Excuse, I humbly pray your Lordship, my bouldnes; and so I humbly take my leav. From my hous in the Black Friers, the 24 of May, 1603.

Your Lordship's humbly to commaund,

HENRY COBHAM.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lord* CISELL, *his Majesties Principall Secretarie.*

Endorsed:

24 *May*, 1603. *Lord Cobham to my Lord.*

## V.

## GEORGE BROOKE TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL.[1]

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 85 (**Hatfield**).

[EXTRACT.][2]

1603. July 22.

George Brooke to Lord Cecil.

SIR,

I PERCEAVE that I am fallen quicke into Hell; nether can I finde any other comforte in it but this,—

[1] On the back of this letter Lord Cecil has written: "Ralegh's book, Cecill House."

[2] The omission is indicated by dots. It is quite immaterial to the subject of this book.

that I hope I shalbe excused from it in the world to come. The sensible and daily declininge of my health, I know not whether I may take joy in or no; the value of alle such things dependinge upon variable circumstance. You know that I am not precious unto my self; but what my care is, I have ingenuously imparted unto you, and confidently thrown myself upon your Honor. I remember what I have receaved from you, and doubt not of it; yeat do I hold my self bound to sollicite in a matter of this importance, and still to entreat that you will not be weary to move the Kinge for grace, and that he will not exempt us only out of this great and universal jubilee. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

1603. July 22. Complaints of misery.—Entreaties for the continuance of Cecil's favour.

I would not appeare other unto you, but such as you might have joy of me when you had restored me.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—If you come to this place, let me entreat to speak privately with yourself.

## VI.

## HENRY BROOKE, LORD COBHAM, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 87 (Hatfield). Holograph.

1603. July 23. Lord Cobham to Lord Cecil.

YOUR Lordship did ons or twis ask me tochinghe my purpos for the Ladie ARBELLA. It is a hard taske for me to remember every conceat that past in my humour of discontentment; and, when all is known that can

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1603. July 23.

Cobham's intercourse with, and project concerning, Arabella Stuart.—Lapse of time since the project was conceived and abandoned.

be, it wilbe found far idell, and no such ground of foundation on my part as I fear me both by other's confestions and your Lordship's aprehensions is conceved. For, if I hav erred, it was soon salved: for God is my wittnes, when I sawe her, I resolved never to hazard my estat for her. And lett the tyme be compared when this conceat cam into me, and how loung it was sins I ever spak, or thought, of it: Your Lordship shall perceave it soon died, and never had a reviving sins.

God mayk yow aprehensive of the afflixion I am in, and dispos your hart to yeald me comfort, if it be His will. And so I humbly tak my leav. From the Tour of London, the 23 of July, 1603.

Youre poore distresed and comfortles brother in law,

HENRY COBHAM.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very good Lord, the Lord* CISELL, *His Majesties Principall Secretarie.*

## VII.

## SIR WILLIAM WAAD TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 111 (**Hatfield**). In the hand of an Amanuensis? Signed.

1603. Aug. 12.

Sir W. Waad to Lord Cecil.

IT MAY PLEASE YOUR HONORABLE LORDSHIP,

I HAVE examyned again WALTER PENYCOCKE upon those interrogatoryes I receaved, and fynd he before had awnswered the cheefest part of the artycles concerning the letters he carryed in the cape of his

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1603. Aug. 12.

Examination of one Penycuik, a Scottish messenger between Lord Cobham and the Count of Arenbergh.

çloke,—and not in his doublet,—which were from the Lord COBHAM to the Cownt of AREMBERGE, as in a former Confession your Lordship may fynd. The other letter was from 'RIOTELLI' [?[1]] unto MARTIN DE LA FAYLLA.

For the fyrst artycle, how he was set at lyberty at Plimmouthe, he affyrmethe it was by the Maior, in regard he had no meanes to pay for his dyet.

For his sendinge in post to Brussells, it was not upon his return from Plimmowth, as he saythe. But he confesseth he was once sent from the Fyscall with letters to Brussels. But what those letters did concern he knowes not, and never was ther, as he saythe, but that one tyme.

He further saythe he receaved but one hundreth florins for sea victuals, and no more. He also saythe he brought no letters hether in Aprill; but came over for the ransom of SAUNDERS JHONSON. But in June he brought letters to LA FAYLA.[2]

He knoweth not the other post that came with him, other then that he is post for the Admiraltye at Dunkirke and Brussels. And thus, having set downe his awnsweres, I do make ready those observations I can collect owt of the Examinations of GEORGE BROOK and WATSON, and will gyve my attendance on the Lords to morrow, as your Lordship doth dyrect me.

Yf your Lordship will be pleased to let me have the first Relations WATSON brought with him ther maybe somthinge picked out of them.

I heer do humbly acknowledge your Lordship's honorable favors, and offer the uttermost indevors of a trew

[1] This name is not, to the Editor, legible. It looks like 'riotelli,' but the reading is merely conjectural.

[2] See Lord Cobham's Letter of May 23.

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and sincere affeccion, with which I wilbe allwayes at the commandment of your honorable Lordship,

W. WAAD.

12 August, 1603.

1603. Aug. 12.

Addressed:

*To the ryght honorable my especyall good Lord, the Lord* CECILL, *Principall Secritarye to His Majesty.*

Endorsed:

1603. *August* 12. *Sir* WILLIAM WAAD *to my Lord.*

## VIII.

## THE DECLARATION AND CONFESSION OF THOMAS MARKHAM.

AUGUST 14, 1603.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 114 (Hatfield).

1603. Aug. 14.

Confession of Thomas Markham. —The plot of Griffin Markham and others for surprising the Court, and the Tower of London.

MY brother[1] answering for himself, hathe nowe given me free liberty to confess the trueth; before the which my case was thus desperate that I was dyrectly bound either to conceal the accion or els dyrectly to forswear my self; and besids indainger the betraying of my owne brother.

All that ever my brother acquainted me withall, therefore, I do here now confesse. At the first, he swore me to the Oath,—the which, as farr as I remember, consisted onely upon theis three points: the first was for the advauncement of the Catholique Churche; the second, for the safe preservacion of the prince; and the last, to keepe the accion secrett. He moreover tolde me that he

[1] Sir Griffin Markham.

1603. Aug. 14.

well hoped they should procure a thowsand; and, if not so manie, he made but litle doubt of five hundred; the which he thought would serve the turne.

I did moreover understand by him that my Lord GRAY and Mr. BROOKE were actors.

The Plott was to enter the Court, and the Tower, bothe at an instant; and was to be performed on Midsomer day. To the which purpose he brought both my brother[1] and my self up,—whoe tooke the oath with me. To this was I brought into (as I beseeche you consider) by a brother whome I did much respect. For the which I protest I am infinitly sorry, and do humbly submitt my self unto the King's Majesty's mercy and your Lordships'.

THO. MARKHAM.

The 14th of August, 1603.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—This was forgotten: Howe they detirmined to have surprized the King's person, and as manie of the Counsell as the[2] could, and to have put them all into the Tower.

THO. MARKHAM.

Ex^md^ per W. WAAD.

[1] Charles Markham, whose examination is contained in the same volume of the Hatfield MSS. (ci. § 118). The interview between the three brothers, referred to in this statement, seems to have taken place on or about the 12th of June.

[2] *they*.

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## IX.

## "CERTEN QUEERIES MINISTRED UNTO WILLIAM WATSON."[1]

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. (Hatfield).

1603. July? or August?

Interrogatories for William Watson.

1. To set down the time when it was first propounded to undertake any accion.

2. From whome came the mocion?

3. What was resolved to be don, and whoe were acquainted with the true intencion of their purpose? Or how manie thinges were resolved of as heads:—as the Surprizing of the Kinge; the takeing of the Tower; the takeing of the Counsell,—removing some;—calling others in question;—apointing new officers;—creations with new dignityes; . . . .[2] Parlament; the Maior, Alldermen, and Cheife Officers to be imprisoned; Ostages to be taken; Pencions to be bestowed from Spaine; Setting up the Catholicque Religion?

4. How manie meetings had they, and which of them were togeather at those Conferencies; what was handled? and to set downe the times and places.

5. To set downe the time which[3] the Accion should have bin attempted.

[1] In the margin of these Questions is a list of names, bearing the heading "Divers Preists," and reading thus:—Darques. Owen. Harding. W. Gage. Fitzgerald. Harell Swyft. W. Vaughan. Geo. Herbert. Ashey[?]. The last-written name is now scarcely legible.

[2] What here follows is illegible; probably by an erasure.

[3] So in MS.; the word '*at*' being probably omitted.

6. The places to be named where the Kinge should have bin surprized, and the manner.

7. The cheife Conductors; what charge every man should have had.

1603. July.? or August?

8. To set downe how manie of those named by WATSON (that should have joyned with them) had bin delt withall by himselfe, and whoe, by others; And how manie men were acquainted with the Plott; How manie tooke the Oathe, and howe farr every man was ingaged.

9. To set downe every mans opinion for the surprizing of the Tower;—how it should have bin don?

10. Whoe were the persons that were sent into the country to raise men?

## X.

## AN ABSTRACT BY SIR WILLIAM WAAD, FOR THE USE OF SECRETARY LORD CECIL, OF "*A LARGE DECLARATION OF WILLIAM WATSON, OF THE 18th OF AUGUST*, 1603."

From the Original. *Cecil Papers* (Hatfield). In the handwriting of Sir WM. WAAD.

1603. Aug. 18. Waad's Abstract of the "Declaration of William Watson."

I REMEMBER out of Mr. BENSON'S *Relation* there was mention made of my speeche unto him for rescuing of the Kinge upon Midsomer day at night, or about that time. At which time I tould him ther was, as I under-

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1603. Aug. 18.

stood, a practise in hand by my Lord GRAY and the Puritains against His Majestie. This *Relation* brings one thinge to my minde which I had forgotten, to witt, how that I still altered my motives to urge men on to be in a readines for His Majesties defence and furthering of the Catholike cause, according to the diversityes of chaunges in mens opinions. Daungers increasing dayly to His Majesties person, I mooved it as one[1] upon a speeche of Mr. BROAKE'S unto me about that same time (and it was before my Lord GRAY had entered in with us); to witt, Mr. BROAKE and I talked togeather of the daungers His Majestie was in,—yea, and the whole Realme,—and how he had heard of a most daungerous plott intended for a generall confussion and distruccion of all, which was to begine by coming by coming[2] in thorroughe Scotlande at first;—but whether the Span[iards] or the Frenche, or bothe, I know not. Onely this I remember, he told me of the Count of AREMBERGE some things that in both our conceipts did seeme to make it manifest that the great masse of monie reported to be in the Jesuits' disposing was moste of it from the said Count, as impossible for all the Catholikes in Englande to raise so muche of themselves. And withall wee had some speeche then also of his brother my Lord COBHAM and Sir WALTER RAWLEY —how they two stood for the Spanishe faction; at what time something (as I take it) was spoken concerning Sir WALTER'S surprizing of the King's Fleete, as Mr. COPLY hathe noted; and what it was I cannot possibly call to mynde.

But, for my Lord GRAY, thus it was, as farr as I can remember touching that pointe: Mr. BROOKE being with his brother my Lord COBHAM, whoe tould him then (as

[1] So in MS. [2] So repeated in original MS.

1603. Aug. 18.

I take it) that one MILES GERRARD (whoe is wholly Jesuited, and dweles at Trent in Somersetshire) whispered him in the eare,[1] bid him be of good comforte, for his Lordship should see the Catholikes very shortly ease bothe his Lordship and others, and send redresse, &c. About which time (as I take it), my Lord GRAY and Sir WALTER RAWLEY were there, at the Black Fryers, and shewed, every one of them, great discontent, but especyally the two Lords; my Lord COBHAM discovering his revenge to no lesse then the depriving of his Majestie and all his royall issue both of crowne, kingdome, liff, and all, at once.[2] And my Lord GRAY (to use Mr. BROOKE'S owne words unto me) uttering nothing but treason at every worde, and soe forward to doe something for revenge, as he seemed even desperate in a sort.

Hereupon, all theis circumstances concuring togeather, I used that of my Lord GRAYES intent and others, to hasten on Mr. BENSON, and others, as occacion was offered; and withall, upon a motion of Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM for weapons, I wished Mr. BENSON to send to his sonne to bring up his armor brought out of Ireland to be solde. But Sir GRIFFIN tould me, afterwards, there would neede no armes, save only caliveres to breake open locks withall, if neede were. And afterwards, when Mr. BROOKE and Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM had drawne my Lord GRAY to them, yet did

[1] The word '*and*' would seem here to have been omitted by the scribe.

[2] The whole of this and the preceding paragraph, from the words "*and withall wee had some speeche*," consists, it is obvious, of an amplification—at third hand—of the statements of George Brooke; statements, too, the most material of which were earnestly retracted by Brooke, when at the point of death. As regards Watson, they were hearsays. To those who now read them, they are an 'abstract' of Watson's hearsays, drawn up by Sir William Waad.

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1603. Aug. 18.

I still, to some, use the same perswacion as before to be reddy to defend the Kinge, against the Lord GRAY and the Puritanes faction; partly to make Catholikes more reddy to joyne in the Kings behalf, but moste especyally indeede for that I still doubted of my Lord GRAY, what his intent might be (even when he was joyned to ours), as well against the King's person as also against Catholikes in gennerall, if he and his had prevayled. And therefore was I carefull to learne oute by Mr. BROOKE what companie my Lord GRAY was able to bringe with him, and withall that he might not prevent us nor over rull all, but,—if it came to accion,—that either Sir GRIFFIN MARKHAM or Master COPLEY might have the guarde of the Kinges person; and that accion in hand for surprizing of his Majestie and my Lord [1] to be sett to my Lord of SOUTHAMPTON, and those whome it was thought he had an earnest desire to be revenged upon; and so his Majestie to have bin secured from him or anie other of his ennemyes.

*** *This Declaration is not signed by* WATSON. *It bears the following subscription, in the hand of Sir* WILLIAM WAAD:—

"Taken out of a lardge Declaration of WILLIAM WATSON, of the 18th of August, 1603.

"W. WAAD."

[1] Apparently, meaning Lord Cecil.

## XI.

## SECRETARY LORD CECIL (BY COMMAND OF KING JAMES I.) TO THE COUNT OF ARENBERGH.

AUGUST 18, 1603.

From the original draft. In the hand of an Amanuensis, with corrections in Lord CECIL's hand. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. ff. 121, 122 (Hatfield).

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

1603. Aug. 18. Letter of Cecil to Arenbergh; showing the relations subsisting between the King's government and that ambassador after the examination of Ralegh and Cobham.

HIS Majesty finding by a late letter of yours written to him that you doe interprett a former answeare of his to you to import a promise for the absolute restrayninge of all his subjects for goinge to serve the States of the United Provinces, hath commanded me to lett you understand that he cannot remember any cause given you to make such an inference. For thereby he should have promised to restrain his subjects of the common and accustomed liberty which is used by all nations[1] to take the courses which are indifferently open unto such persons as have not certain means to make their advantage,[2] but by such accidents; which, as before he could never deny his subjects (as other Princes also have not done in the like cases), so, of all times, now he could not so abruptly have proceeded, without apparent shew to abandon all respect unto the States;[3] between whom and his Crown of England divers contracts stood undissolved. For it cannot be imputed to have in it any meaning of partiality, considering that the same liberty is left unto the Archdukes to be furnished with any

[1] Here the word '*Princes*' has been supplied and then struck out, and '*nations*' restored by Cecil in his own hand.

[2] In the sense of '*livelihood*' or the like.

[3] This clause is an insertion in Cecil's hand.

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number of His Majesty's subjects, if they will proceed by the same courses and means to draw Voluntaries to their service.

1603. Aug. 18.

Secondly, His Majesty having, as before was answered you, sent unto the States purposely to represent his resolution to hold peace with the Archdukes upon honorable terms; howsoever they should resolve to join in treating or no with him, it were hard for him to take so direct negative courses with them, before he have heard how they stood affected to rely upon his counsels.[1] . . . . . .

And, therefore, in this matter he conceiveth that the Count of AREMBERGE now will easily reconcile any his mistaking of His Majesty's words, or any doubts of His Majesty's sincerity, which shall never be easily violated in any his Majesty's actions towards the meanest; —much less towards such Princes, of whose amity he maketh such estimation.

## XII.

### SECRETARY LORD CECIL TO SIR G. HARVEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.

From the original Minute. *Cecil Papers*, vol. ci. § 125 (Hatfield).

1603. Aug. 20.

. . . . FOR any of their letters, I am not desirous of them because I cannot procure their requests, which I have no more power to effect then others; neyther have

[1] The following addition has been first written and then cancelled:—

"He hath only kept himself thus retentive as neither to yield letter, commission, perswasion, or money, towards it; but left them barely to their own industry and charges."

The closing paragraph is in Lord Cecil's hand.

1603. Aug. 20.

Lord Cecil to Sir G. Harvey.

Letters of supplication from the Prisoners in the Tower. —Message to Lord Grey.

I less will to help them then any other, though I mislike their fawlts. In it, therefore, Sir, I leave it to you, neyther to grant to[1] facilly nor deny to[1] severly. For it is no troble to me to heare, seing they are so wise as they will be satisfied with mine honest and just answers.

To my Lord GREY I pray you, Sir, retourne this answer: that in any thing wherein his case may be freended by me, without my prejudice in duty or mislike in my Soverain,—I say it constantly and never will be found untreu,—that I will do as much for him as I wold ever have don for him in such a time when I held him dearest; protesting that, as I cannot accuse my self for any thoght or desire to suppress, nay to hinder him when he thoght me coldest or worst afected (thogh it is treu that I had suspended my indevour to labour for him—first, because I had somewhat els to do for others; next, because I saw him suspicious of me, which I bare with because his estate might make him impatient), so all those conceipts or misunderstandings are as clerly buried as if they had not ben. This I write, not as needing or using to disguise, but even for trewth's sake. To which I only add this (and thereof I pray you require his Lordship to make good observation), that notwithstanding this my profession, such is his fortune as he cannot make to many freends; which, if I thoght he wold neglect one jott the rather because I have now sayd cleerly that I am his freend (duty reserved), I protest that I wold say to him that I were his enemy; and so plainely, Sir, let him see mine owne woords, that he may the better know my sense. For anything he will send me, in writing, of his case, lett him know I will receave nothing which I will not shew, at any time, to all my Lords Commissioners; and therfore let him be

[1] *too.*

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resolved that my friendship must in such thinges have the precisest limitts.

For any other privat letter of request, if you signe it, I will at any time receave it. For his reader, I wish he had him, and will move my Lords. But if he come in, he must not out againe.

1603. Aug. 20.

Your loving and assured friend,

RO. CECYLL.

## XIII.

## SIR EDWARD COKE'S "ABSTRACT OF THE TREASONS."

From the Original. *Domestic Correspondence:* 1603 (Rolls House). Holograph.

1603. August?

Coke's "Abstract of the Treasons."

OUT of the Examinations and proofes it appeareth there were 3 severall treasons, which, for distinction sake, I ame inforced to name by severall names.

Persons.

1. THE SPANNISHE TREASON; wherein the actors already discovered were . . . . .

- Lord COBHAM.
- Lord GREYE.
- Sir WALTER RALEIGHE.
- GEORGE BROOKE.
- Sir GRIFFITH MARCAM.
- Countie ARR[EMBERGH].

The Spannishe Treason.

By intelligence and meanes of ARREMBERGH to gett and obteyne 5 or 6 hundred thousand crouns from Spaine, and 3 or 4 hundred thousand pounds from France. The Lord COBHAM to goe to the ARCHDUKE to acquaint him with his purposes; from thence to Spayne; to retorne by the Isle of Jersey, ther to mete and conferre with Sir WALTER RALEGH,

and with the money to levie forces of discontented persons to take away 'the KINGE and all his cubbes;' and to bring in a Spanish army to land at Milford Haven.

1603. August?

The manner of the intelligence and conspiracye.

Lord COBHAM only with ARREMBERGH. RAWLEY only with Lord COBHAM. COBHAM with Lord GREY, GEORGE BROOKE, and RALEIGHE; but severally. BROOKE with COBHAM. Lord GREY and MARCAM, severally.

Place.

The places where these treasons were plotted: At my Lord COBHAM'S house in London; at ARREMBERGH'S lodginge in London.

Tyme.

The tyme: Within 5 dayes after ARREMBERGH'S coming to London.

## 2. THE PRIESTS' TREASON.

To assemble force and strengthe, and on Midsommer-day last, in the night, to come to the Parke pale at Grenewich, to enter in by the gardein with a key, that should be borowed; and when the numbers were come in, there should be a watche set at the dores of principall persons, and at the passages; and then to goe up to the KING'S lodging. And when they cam to the KING, they should surprise his person, and cary him to the Tower, and they would move him for 3 things:— 1, for there pardon; 2, for tolleration of relligion; 3, for assuraunce thereof, to preferre Catholiques to places of credit, as WATZON the priest to be Lord Keper; GREY, Erle Marshall; GEORGE BROOKE, Lord Treasorer; and MARCAM, Secretary. They concluded to cutt of many of the Privy Councill, and to have made a Proclamation, purporting howe the KING had bene misled, and to have

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1603. August?

had many things reformed. They determined to have possessed the principall ports of the realme, and to have kept the KING in the Towre a quarter of a yeare. For secrecy an othe was prescribed. When this treason by God's providence was defeated, they resolved to have surprised his person at Hamworth, by rushinge in by tymes in the morning; and so many of the Scotts as eschaped the fury, they meant to have sent them into Scotland, for that will make the accion honorable.

Confederates. The Confederates in this treason:
- Lord GREY.
- WILLIAM WATZON, priest.
- FRAUNCES CLARKE, priest.
- GEORGE BROOKE.
- Sir GRIFFIN MARCAM.
- ANTHONY COPLEY.

*The Lord* COBHAM *knew of it after it was dissolved.*

Manner of their conference: The Lord GREY, BROOKE and MARCAM, twice; WATZON, BROOKE and MARCAM, twice; but many tymes severally. COPLY with MARCAM; GEORGE BROOKE, WATZON, &c.

Place: In Channon Row; in the Lady BAROWE'S house at St. James; in the Stronde.

Tyme: About the 8 of June.

### 3. THE LORD GREYE'S TREASON.

The Lord GREY expecting a regiment of such souldiers as should be sent into the Lowe Countries, the Lord GREY, with a hundred gentlemen of quality, should have come to the KINGE, and (under colour of preferring a peticion to informe the KING of such inconveniences as were likely to growe to his Majestie and the State) to have executed the former treasons; which motion GEORGE BROOKE commended. Lord GREY required

it to be kept secret; for though, saith he, the busines be honest, yet if it com to light, both the end must dye, and they about the KING would make of every mote a beame. Lord GREY held MARCAM a valiant gentleman, yet would not conferre with him; but sett BROOKE to impart it to him; with this, that MARCAM to his,—viz. the Papists,—should not disclose him, nor I (saith Lord GREY) will once name him to myne.

1603. August?

Confederats: { Lord GREY, GEORGE BROOKE, MARCAM.

Tyme: 25 Junij.

Place: At BROOK'S lodging in Channon Rowe.

Profes.: { GEORG BROOKE; MARCAM, *ex relat.* BROOK; Lord GREY'S Confession.

Endorsed: "*An Abstract of the Treasons.*—CLARKE. MARCAM. LORD GREY. COPLEY. GAGE. GAGE."[1]

## XIV.

## SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON AND OTHER LORDS OF THE COUNCIL TO SIR BENJAMIN TICHBORNE, KNIGHT, HIGH SHERIFF OF HAMPSHIRE.

From the original Minute. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 48 (Hatfield). Holograph.

1603. Dec. 4.

WE have shewed the King's Majesty your letters, and he hath read that of Sir W. RALEGH'S without superscription, evry woord. He shall heare answer, by SHEL-

[1] This name is so repeated in MS. The five persons here named had all made "confessions."

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BURY, what shalbe don for HERIOT'S coming about his accompts; which grace his Majesty intends to aford[1] him. Where you doubted how Mr. G. BROOK shalbe buried, you may please to bury him privatly, in some church.[2] And for a scaffold, it was not to be doubted but he must have one.[3] There shall be no need of any new[4] questions to be asked at his death. For all is known. And it will be pity to troble him at that time, but with the best preparation for his sowle,—of which God Almighty take mercy. And so we end,

Yowr . . .

1603. Dec. 4. Lord Cecil To Sir Benjamin Tichborne. The King's reception of Sir W. Ralegh's letter.—Directions for burial of Brooke.

Endorsed, by a Secretary of Lord Cecil:

*Mynute to Sir* BENJAMIN TITCHBOURNE, *the 4th of December*, 1603. *Concerninge Sir* W. RAWLIGH *and Mr.* G. BROOK.

## XV.

## ANTHONY WATSON, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE, THE LORD HENRY HOWARD, AND THE LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 49 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

1603. Dec. 4. Bishop of Chichester to the Lords Commissioners. From Winchester.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

UPON Mr. BROOK'S preparacion for the Communion and my exhorting to a worthy receyvinge, we entred into some particulars, both for the last action and his former lyfe. I vexed againe that speech for '*the Fox and his cubbs*,' which now, I assure your Lordships, he abso-

[1] First written '*give*.' [2] '*after his*' written and then erased.
[3] First written thus: "*And for a scaffold, there can be no doubt.*"
[4] The word '*new*' added by interlineation.

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lutely denyeth; saieng that he wold not sweare, for all the world, that my Lord COBHAM ever uttered them. Somwhat was spoken to lyk sence, as he doubtfully alledgeth.

Yff ther remaine any doubte wherin he may further satisfy the King, or your Lordships, he professeth his readinesse fully to accomplishe. Thus much I am bould to signifye to your Lordships, folowinge the opportunity of my Lord of WINCHESTER his sendinge to the Courte. And so, with remembrance of all dewty to your Lordships, I take my leave. From the Castle at Winchester, December 4th [1603].

Your Lordships' in all dewtye,

ANTHO. CICESTREN.

1603. Dec. 4. George Brooke's retractation (on receiving the Holy Communion) of his charge against Cobham for saying, "*We will kill the fox and his cubs.*"

Addressed:

*For the Kinge's Service. To the right honorabele the Earle of* SUFFOLKE, *the Earle of* DEVONSHYRE, *the Lord* HENRY HOWARDE, *the Lord* CECILL, *Lords of his Majesties most honourable Pryvie Councell.* Hast. Hast.

Endorsed:

*December* 4. *Lord Bishop of Wynchester to the Lords. From Wynchester.*

## XVI.

## ANTHONY WATSON, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, TO THE EARLS OF SUFFOLK AND DEVONSHIRE, THE LORD HENRY HOWARD, AND THE LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 55 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIPS,

ON Sonday, before eaveninge prayer, I made the last motion to Mr. BROOKE, concerninge wordes uttered 1603. Dec. 6.

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1603. Dec. 6.

The Bishop of Chichester to the Lords Commissioners. From Winchester.

Statements made by George Brooke, just before his execution.

against Sir GEORGE CAREW and Sir HENRY BRONKARDE.[1] His very awnsweare was this: 'Its a jeaste[2] [?]. I never spake of them but by supposition that yff anything wer attempted for the Lady ARBELLA, Sir GEORGE CAREW and Sir HENRY BRONKARDE wer lyk to knowe it.' And, further, he could not say any think against them.

After prayeres, I commended him to God, for his comfortable meditations till the next morninge;—when I came againe to pray with him, and, by his importunat request, folowed him to the skaffolde, wher he suffred at the tyme appointed; which, I presume, hath restored me to my former libertye and dewtyes. And so I humbly tak my leave. At Winchester, Decemb. 6 [1603].

Your Lordships' in all dewty,

ANTHO. CICESTREN.

[1] Brouncker.

[2] So apparently in MS., but this reading must be taken as conjectural; the word being but partially legible.

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XVII. — *EXTENT OF LORD GREY'S PARTICIPATION IN THE PLOT TO SEIZE THE KING'S PERSON.—NOTICE OF HIS LIFE, CHARACTER, AND POLITICAL AIMS.*

PREFATORY NOTE TO LETTER XVII. OF APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

SO far as respects one principal count of the Indictment against Lord Grey, the charge is, in a great measure, borne out by so much of the prisoner's Confession as has been preserved. The two statements, of course, differ totally in regard to the real aim and object of the accused person. Nor do they differ much less as to the relative position, amongst themselves, of the conspirators concerned in the plot to 'surprize' the King and to seize the Tower.

1603. December.

The specific counts against Grey in the Indictment of November 1603,—as I find them in the original document, preserved in the *Baga de Secretis*,—are briefly these: (I.) That, on the 14th day of June, Lord Grey had a meeting at Westminster with George Brooke and with Sir Griffin Markham; that Brooke and Markham declared to Lord Grey their treasonable intention "to seize the King's person, and that of Prince Henry, and to imprison them in the Tower," in order to "extort three promises from the King:" viz. (1) Their own pardon for the imprisonment; (2) A toleration of the Romish religion; (3) The exclusion of certain lords from the Council. And then the Indictment proceeds to allege: (II.) That on the 18th day of the same month these three accused persons had another meeting at Westminster, wherein, after "assenting to all their plans, Lord Grey stipulated that after the King's imprisonment he should be made Earl Marshal, and Master of the Horse."

*Baga de Secretis*, Pouch 58, membrane 16 (R. H.).

Grey's confession—made in the Tower of London, before his trial—admits his complicity in the plot to seize the King,

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with a view to influence the subsequent course of government. But in that confession, as in all his numerous letters about the plot, written during imprisonment, he uniformly asserts an entire divergence of ultimate purpose between himself and his fellow-conspirators. He declares that their real plans had been only partially disclosed to him, and that when he discovered what it was that Markham, Brooke, and the priests were in truth aiming at, he withdrew from all further complicity with them. What was it, then, which Grey had hoped to attain when he first entered into a plot to surround the King suddenly on a Midsummer morning and to keep him, for a time, in durance in the Tower of London?

It will be in vain to seek an answer to this question in the mere text of his Confession. The collation of his extant correspondence will, probably, be more to the purpose. But in order to a clear understanding of the letters, there must be some preliminary remembrance of the life and character of the man who wrote them.

THOMAS GREY, fifteenth Baron Grey of Wilton, was essentially a soldier. He was also a man of fine parts and of scholarly cultivation. Passionately fond of the noble profession which he had studied as well as adopted, he was one of the many soldiers who have shown, conclusively, that a devout mind and a refined intellect may shine as brightly in the camp as in the court. He was also a strenuous and disinterested politician. The grave mistakes and dark blots of his brief political career are insufficient to hide the patriotism and the public spirit which were as inherent in his nature as was the passionate and reckless impulsiveness that helped to bring about his ruin. Those who lived in his intimacy loved him dearly. And no one could live with him a month, it seems, without witnessing some outburst of temper or some escapade of Quixotic adventurousness, of the sort which opens an easy breach to the assaults of enmity, though it may fail to weaken the strength of friendship.

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Lord Grey's precise age at the accession of King James is not recorded. But it is likely that he was still under thirty. He had been first summoned to Parliament in 1597. During the reign of Elizabeth, he saw considerable service both in the Low Country wars, and in the wars of Ireland. It is characteristic of the man that within eighteen months he was twice put under arrest for outbreaks of anger. And both incidents, as it chances, are curiously connected with the long rivalry between the Earl of Essex and Mr. Secretary Cecil. This fact makes the strife which so long subsisted between Lord Grey and Lord Southampton a matter of some historical interest. But for its bearing on the Essex tragedy, and on what grew thereout, the affair would have seemed but a mere personal brawl between two angry boys.

1603. December.

The key to Grey's quarrel with the Earl of Southampton is to be found in a passage of almost the only letter which survives to testify to the terms on which Grey and Cobham lived, before the Queen's death. On the 21st July, 1598, Grey wrote to Cobham: "The Earl [of Essex] has lately required me to declare myself his friend only, or Mr. Secretary's friend. . . . I cannot forget what I owe to Mr. Secretary. I consider the Earl 'a lost child.'" And then he adds: "If the Queen suffer one man thus to engross all men of the sword so servilely, she must shortly be content to hold her Crown of him also." From this time forth, Grey seems to have made his election. He weaned himself from all dependence on the Earl. He attached himself openly to Cecil. He espoused Cecil's quarrels. Cecil, on his part, in writing of Grey as well as to him, uses the language of warm friendship.

Grey to Cobham; *Cecil Pap.* vol. lxii. § 71 (Hatfield).

Thus, for example, at the time of Grey's arrest in Ireland Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Sir Henry Neville:—"If you chance to hear any flying tale that my Lord Grey should be committed in Ireland, the accident was only this: He being only a colonel of horse, and Lord Southampton general [of the cavalry, under Essex], he did charge without direction, and so, for order sake, was only committed to the Marshal for one

Cecil to Sir H. Neville; Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 47.

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night." When both Grey and Southampton had returned to England, the broil was renewed. "My Lord Grey," wrote Sir Henry Neville to Winwood in January 1601, "upon some new-conceived discontent assaulted my Lord of Southampton on horseback in the street, for which contempt of Her Majesty's command given before to them, he was committed to the Fleet."[1] This incident strongly excited the Earl of Essex. At that time, writes Essex himself, "I was fully resolved to have received the Communion, to be a testimony that I was far from bearing of malice to any; not so much as to my private enemies. But then the breach between the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Grey happening on a sudden, hindered my intent. For so soon as I knew of it, I found my affections to stir in it exceedingly, seeing that Her Majesty had not power sufficient to prevent my friend from being publicly assailed in the streets." When, only a few weeks afterwards, Essex and Southampton had to hold up their hands before their Peers, on a charge of High Treason, an eye-witness, keenly watching the demeanour of the accused Lords, records that when the name of the Lord Grey was called, "the Earl of Essex laughed upon the Earl of Southampton, and jogged him by the sleeve."

Sir R. Cecil's autograph draft of Proclamation in *Cecil Pap.* vol. xcix. § 43 (Hatfield).

When Elizabeth died, and the Lords of Council held their hasty meeting at Westminster soon after daybreak, to assert their readiness—"to maintain and uphold King James' person and estate, as our only undoubted Sovereign Lord and King, with the sacrifice of our lives, lands, goods, friends, and adherents, against all force, power, or practice, that shall go about, by word or deed, to interrupt, contradict, or impugn his just claim, or his entry into this kingdom or into any part thereof, at his good pleasure," the Proclamation was signed both by Grey and by Cobham. Of the deliberations and discussions—whatsoever they were—which occurred at this meeting, and which preceded the signing of the Proclamation,

[1] Neville to Winwood; Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. i. p. 292.

no record is now known to exist. Has the disappearance of the Council Book any probable connection with these deliberations, or with the like deliberations on any former occasion?

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There has always existed a tradition that, in the discussion which must needs have occurred at that critical moment, Lord Grey took a prominent part. The tradition has been handed down through many distinct channels. It bears about it certain marks of probability. To diligent students of the obscurer points of our history, that measure of probability which the tradition bears on its face, cannot but be somewhat strengthened by the recollection that only a few years had passed since the most wary of English statesmen had set their hands to a proposition for declaring, by Act of Parliament, that immediately upon the Queen's death, "the three Estates of the realm shall consider and hear all pretensions of title to the Crown, and, after due deliberation had, they shall consult, in the name of God, and as it were in His presence, upon the justice and righteousness of all the pretensions, and thereupon they shall accord of the manner how they may admit, accept, and receive such a person to the Crown of the Realm." But still it is a tradition only.

*Domestic Corresp.* Elizabeth, vol. clxxvi. § 22 (R. H.).

The several forms in which that tradition has been handed down descend little into particulars. Most of them say simply that Lord Grey proposed that 'Articles' should be drawn up and sent to the King for reservation of the liberties of the kingdom. Some accounts say that one particular item of limitation of the royal power, propounded in the Council, was a set restriction upon the number of Scottishmen who should be admitted to offices of state or public trust in England. And it is with this item that the name of Ralegh has been persistently identified,—without any proof whatever.

One nearly contemporary account of the part taken by Lord Grey in this debate about 'Articles' is preserved amongst the Wharton MSS. at Oxford. It is slightly—and only slightly—more circumstantial than others, and was written by Walter

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Fitzwilliam, a near relative, it would seem, of that Sir William Fitzwilliam who had succeeded Lord Grey's father as Lord Deputy of Ireland. When, says Fitzwilliam, the Peers were met to consult "what was most convenient for the present affaire,—not any questioning the undoubted right of the King of Scotland,—this noble Lord, like a zealous patriott, stood up and desired that articles might be sent to the King for the reservation of the libertys and foundementall laws of the kingdom. This was only seconded by Sir John Fortescue; but contradicted and withstood by the Earle of Northumberland, whoe prevailed, and soe it ended."[1]

Vol. I. chap. xvii.

The anecdote which, in a preceding part of this book, has been told about the renewal of the quarrel between Grey and Southampton, in the presence chamber of Queen Anne of Denmark, shows that Grey must have remained at Court nearly to the time of Anthony Copley's first examination about the plot of 1603. But it seems, from a passage in a letter addressed to Lord Cecil by Sir Thomas Gorges, from the Netherlands, on the 15th of July, that Grey escaped from England when the revelations about the intended attempt to seize the King began to be bruited abroad. Lord Grey, writes Sir Thomas Gorges, "is taken into custody at Sluys, and none is permitted to speak with him; nor is he permitted to write or send [receive?] any letter." Before the end of the month he was lodged in the Tower.

Sir Thos. Gorges to Lord Cecil, July 15, 1603; *Cecil Pap.* (Hatfield).

"My Lord Gray is now confissed," wrote Waad to Cecil on the 3rd of August, when forwarding to the Secretary, with great self-complacency, his Lordship's 'Declaration' in answer to a series of Interrogatories. That he had no traitorous purpose was his uniform assertion. But it is strange to find a man like Grey avowing another purpose which was, in some sort, the counterpart to Watson's plot within a plot. And it was to his mother,—the relict of that Lord Grey of Wilton

[1] Fitzwilliam's *Testimony of the Lord Gray*, MS. WHARTON, lxxx. fol. 439 (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

who had fought so strenuously for English supremacy in the sister island, and under whom Ralegh's first home service was performed,—not to his Examiners, that Grey avowed his intention, had he not been prevented, of making, "for the safety of the King, the full discovery of all their designs" [*i.e.* the designs of the Papists]. In his days of leisure, Lord Grey had busied himself—amongst many other studious tasks—in the translation of Saint Cyprian concerning Patience. In this letter to his mother, written from the Tower, he entreats her to send him the book; and then, amidst many ardent expressions of his filial affection, goes on to say:—"I fear not evil; my heart is fixed; I trust in the Lord;" and again: "Madam, be not dismayed. I am in the Tower, but neither for deed nor thought against King or Country. You will hear I am combined with Papists;"—a thought which seemed to him full of horror. Then follows the assertion that he had hoped to disconcert and discover their designs. "To compass this," he continues, "*and to execute a purpose of mine own, good to the King, to the State, and, as I hold, justifiable before God and man*, I could not avoid danger of law. My friends with their own ruin have brought me into danger which, if I cannot shun, I will constantly suffer. . . . . I see, I sorrow for, my faults. God will amend them, and I shall live yet to yield you comfort; my religion, my country, service; and myself right. Of Cobham's or Rawleigh's plot I neither knew nor, in my life, conferred counsaile with either of them touching their businesses; yet would God that different ends, different ways, at once should be revealed. So soon as I have more liberty I will acquaint your Ladyship with all which may cleer mine innocency, which, doubt not, will never be stained." This letter was written to Lady Grey on the same day (August 3rd) on which Waad had procured the 'Declaration' which he so complacently trusted might help the operation of other motives in impressing on George Brooke the wisdom and necessity "of being before, and not behind, the rest; as well in ample declaracion, as in time."

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Grey to Dowager Lady Grey: MS. WHARTON, lxxx. (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

Ibid. fol. 431, verso.

Waad to Cecil; Aug. 3, 1603 (R. H.).

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Grey's demeanour at the Trial by his Peers was worthy of his ancestry, and of his education. Amongst those who looked on at not the least remarkable of the many historic scenes which have passed within the walls of the time-honoured Castle of Winchester, was that Dudley Carleton who, in after years, attained some distinction as a statesman, and who, in the reign of Charles I., bore the title of Lord Dorchester. When Ralegh and Grey fought their hard battles for life against terrible odds, with a courage so mingled with temperance and grace as to turn—as both of them did—some enemies into friends, Carleton was in the service, as a secretary, of their common acquaintance the Earl of Northumberland. When he tells us that Lord Grey "held the Court the whole day, from eight in the morning till eight at night, in subtle traverses and scapes," from the too well-arrayed evidence of 'Declarations' and 'Confessions,' I suppose he is scarcely to be taken at the strict letter. A speech of twelve hours, under such circumstances, would have been a marvel indeed. Carleton probably means that charge and answers together took up the day. When he adds that Grey's old antagonist, the Earl of Southampton, "was mute before his face," but when the Peers had retired to consult amongst themselves, "spake very much against him," he is doubtless speaking from the best authority—that of the Earl his patron, who was there present.

Carleton's Letters, in MS. WHARTON, lxxx. ff. 440, seqq. (Bodleian Library, Oxford).

When the last call was made upon him, before sentence was passed, Grey answered amidst breathless silence—"I have nothing to say." The silence continued, and then, after a long pause, he added: "Yet a word of Tacitus comes into my mind. *Non eadem omnibus decora.* The House of the Wiltons have spent many lives in their Princes' service. Grey cannot beg his. God send the King a long and prosperous reign, and your Lordships all honour." And then calmly listened to his sentence. Of the strange scene which followed in the Castle-yard, some account has been given in the preceding volume. Lord Grey's deportment in it was in keeping with his conduct before the Peers.

Vol. I. chap. xx.

I believe that as Grey would not beg his life through any intercession by the Lords, so he refrained from any entreaty for it of the King. Very probably, this quietness and dignity of mind, when known by Ralegh to have been evinced by his fellow-prisoner,—as well in the solitude of his cell, and in the hours when Death must have seemed to come nearer and nearer with the beating of every pulse, as amidst the excitement of the crowded hall, and in contemplation of the possibilities of the weeks that would intervene before the final issue,—enhanced his regret for his own passionate supplication for life. Doubtless the reader remembers the earnest but fruitless request: "Get those letters,—if it be possible,—which I writ to the Lords, wherin I sued for my life. God knoweth it was for you and yours that I desired it. But it is true that I disdain myself for begging it." When those lines were penned, Grey's abstinence from all supplication was probably known to their writer.

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Letter CXXIII. p. 286.

On the other hand, there is a phrase in Lord Grey's subsequent letter of thanks for the unbegged mercy, addressed to the King, which most persons who read it are likely to regret to see there. And to it there is no parallel in the numerous letters of Ralegh, written before or after the mock-scaffold scene. "So long," wrote Grey, whilst still at Winchester, "as your mercy draws out my life, I cannot deny it the only object it aspires to—*by unfeigned confession*, and contrition, to diminish my offence and your displeasure." Surely, there was now no further need of victims; and the time of 'confessions' was fully past.

As the years in the Tower wore on, Grey's impatience of imprisonment, and above all of inactivity, chafed his spirit by turns into ardent longings after liberty, and into occasional fits of despair. The prayers which he would not utter to King or Councillors for life, he was instant in offering for freedom. And there is no reason to doubt his sincerity when he told James: "My soul only desires life, to serve and to obey you till death." More than most things, the interest with which he

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had watched and shared in the great struggle of the Netherlands against the tyranny of Spain kept its hold upon his mind. It was his unwavering creed that to fight for the Hollanders was to fight for England. The King's view was very different. On this point (as on but few other points) Ralegh and Grey were at one.

Alike in the most gloomy and in the more cheerful hours of the prison-life, Grey continued to look intently at the progress of the Dutch, and he was allowed to correspond about it. Thus, in 1604, he wrote, from the Tower, to an old comrade: "No one accident hath so much grieved me as this of Vere, that he should forsake the Low-Country employment, *when my misfortune hath made me so unavailable.*" And then came a bright gleam of hope across his fervid mind: "Yet," he adds, "although this untimely frost hath nipped my hopes, even in the bud, such a serenity may ensue, as may recover and increase them. For we see often backward prove fruitful years." These gleams of hope led him to ply with entreaty new acquaintances, as well as old friends. Some of those whose intercession with the King he sought persistently were men whose very nature seems,—to the student of the doings and sayings of those times,—at the opposite pole from his own. Conspicuous, in this point of contrasted character, amongst Grey's correspondents during his Tower life, stands Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. Part of the intercourse between them about the hoped-for pardon is mysterious. Only one or two of the letters which passed are now extant. But it is probable that if the full meaning even of these could be elicited, some new light would be thrown upon more than one of the obscurest incidents in the plots of 1603.

Grey to Winwood, 1604; *Cecil Pap.* vol. cv. § 19 (Hatfield).

By steps which must rather be conjectured than traced, Grey's hope of liberty seems to have reached its climax towards the close of the administration and life of Lord Salisbury. But it was not on the Treasurer's favour or influence that he mainly relied. His trust lay rather in the joint influence—then far more powerful with King James—of

Thus, I Parker all is dispached the God of Heaven direct, and bless it: let this breefly bee your direction: address your self first to mine own So: of Northampton, and have the letter to the Sl: us a readiness that soe soon as hee hath read his own hee may peruse that: if hee altter any thing repair to mee with speed: if not but that hee approue it seal it within my So: of Salsburies as you now receiu it from mee: if from his Lords: you incounter noe rub make all hast to Cib, perswade and inchant him with goulden promises which shale truly bee performed, and intreat him to bee infinitely carefull in the deliuery, but if by any means it may bee before the Sl: gee hence. When this is doon deliuer my So: Chamberlins with your loonest and best Comdality, Into whome I am in the mean time promised to have a good office performed: Thus hauing doon all my industry can I am as prepared to receiu bad as good, for I thank my God noe thing can com amiss, when all Cometh from him that hath fashioned mee for him self: And we canen half a sleep I iest

Your master

Cho: Grey

that most apposite pair of courtiers, the Lord Privy Seal Northampton and the Lord Chamberlain Rochester. Under their conjoint auspices, Grey drew up a letter to the King—for which I have hitherto sought in vain,—and sent it for Northampton's revision. It was then submitted to Salisbury, under precautions against his knowledge that it had first been seen by his colleague Northampton. Its subsequent fate cannot now be traced. It was Grey's intention that it should be given to the King by that Scottish page of his, John Gibb, who had forced his way with so much difficulty through the crowd at Winchester, when carrying the reprieve for Grey and his companions on the scaffold. "Perswade and inchant Gib with goulden promises, which shall truly bee performed," was Grey's written instruction to the servant to whom he entrusted his Letter to the King. And then he adds: "When this is doon, deliver my Lord Chamberlin's with your soonest commodity, unto whome I am in the meantime promised to have a good office perfourmed." That this lost letter contained some secret or other connected with the plottings of 1603, I have a strong persuasion. Grey's written directions to the agent or confidential servant whom he employed in the business are preserved amongst the Wharton MSS. in the Bodleian Library. And of this enigmatical but interesting paper a fac-simile is here inserted. It is possible that the documents which once accompanied it—or some of them—may yet be found. Whatever their fate, Grey's effort on this as on so many previous occasions was unsuccessful.

That visit to the Tower on the occurrence of which,—in all probability,—Grey and "mine own Lord of Northampton" had concerted about the document to be laid before the King, by the instrumentality of John Gibb, took place on the 11th or 12th of July, 1611. It possesses interest in relation to Ralegh, as well as to Grey. The interview which Northampton and his companion had on this occasion with Ralegh was thus narrated by the Lord Privy Seal to his comrade Rochester: "We had afterwards a bout with Sir Walter Ralegh, in whom

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Northampton to Somerset; July 12, 1611.

we find no change; but the same boldness, pride, and passion that heretofore hath wrought more violently, but never expended itself in a stronger passion. Hereof his Majesty shall hear when the Lords come to him; and yet you may assure his Majesty that by this publication[1] he wanne[2] little ground. The lawless liberty of that place [the Tower], so long cockered and fostered with hopes exorbitant, hath bred suitable desires and affections." Such, in 1611, was the confidential outburst of Northampton to Lord Chamberlain Rochester. The writer had fattened on the spoils of Cobham. The receiver was then fattening on the spoils of Ralegh. The man who had been, as Lord Northampton thought, indulged with overmuch tenderness and liberty, in the Tower, was then brightening his imprisonment by toiling at the *History of the World*. The men for whom Wardenships, Privy Seals, Lord Chamberlainships, and broad lands in half-a-dozen counties, were all too little, as the rewards of Court subserviency, were just about to vary their enjoyments by plotting together for the murder of poor Overbury. When a few months more had passed, the 'cockered' prisoner surrendered his apartment in the Tower to the courtier who had wrested from his wife and children the ownership of Sherborne; and a sudden death saved, as by a hairbreadth, the prosperous successor of Cobham in the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports from the penalties of felony.

Whilst Ralegh was soon to leave his prison for a sharp but brief struggle with Spain and with Destiny in remote Guiana, and Somerset was, at the same moment, to enter upon a lingering death drawn out through almost thirty years of shame and degradation, Grey's trials were to have their appointed end much earlier. Probably, his efforts for liberation ceased with the failure of that which he had made by means of Northampton and of Somerset. He died in the Tower on the 9th of July, 1614,—just as he was about to enter on the twelfth year of his imprisonment.

[1] This word is doubtful.

[2] So in MS.

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As Sherborne had passed to the royal favourite Somerset, and Cobham Hall to the royal favourite Lennox, so Whaddon passed to the new royal favourite, Villiers, soon to be Duke of Buckingham. The more beautiful and much older Herefordshire seat of the Greys, Wilton Castle, on the Wye, had been alienated, before the attainder of 1603, to the family of Brydges (afterwards Dukes of Chandos), and with other lands of that family came eventually to be part of the large estates belonging to Guy's Hospital.

Lord Grey's elder sister, of the half blood, carried the representation of this historic family to the Whartons of Westmoreland; Philip, fourth Lord Wharton (grandfather of the notorious Duke, familiar to all readers of Pope or of Horace Walpole), having married her granddaughter. It was by reason of this marriage that many of Lord Grey's papers passed to the Whartons, and from them to Carte the historian, —eventually to form part of the *Carte MSS.* in the Bodleian.

Bridget Grey, Lord Grey's own and only sister of the whole blood, married Sir Rowland Egerton of Cheshire (1st Baronet of his family), and is now lineally represented by Sir Philip De Malpas Grey Egerton, of Oulton, the descendant of their youngest son. The last representative of the elder line (seventh in descent from Sir Rowland) was created Baron Grey de Wilton in 1784 and Earl of Wilton in 1801. He died, without male issue, in 1814. His only daughter married Robert Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave (afterwards Marquess of Westminster), and, by virtue of a special remainder in the Patent of 1801, carried the Earldom of Wilton into the Grosvenor family, in the person of Thomas Grosvenor, second son of that marriage. The barony of Grey de Wilton became again extinct.

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## XVII.

### THOMAS, LORD GREY OF WILTON, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 40 (**Hatfield**). Holograph.

1603. December.

Lord Grey to Lord Cecil. [From Winchester?]

MY LORD,

I BEESEECH you forget not to moov the King for my scoller,[1] whoe will yield me much comfort. If the King think my letter imperfet, or myself recluse in confession of what I knew concerning this business, shall your Lordship or any whom the King shall command (but especially yourself) have occasion to cum this way, I will successivly relate what passed by mee, eaven from my first entrance with GEORG BROOK; whearin, if I bee proved to have concealed any man or passage which your Lordship either had not in hand, or more, against them then I could informe, which concerned the King or State, let mee dy without judgment; or if, from my begining with GEORG BROOK unto my breach with MARKHAM, I doe not demonstrate (soe farr as such a subject can permitt) a cleer heart of ill intension to the King and State of Ingland. Think, then, how unfortunate I am, and prejudg not my ends, for I much doubdt you have to aunswear for your opinion of them. But with patience I will indure the King's pleasure, and doubdt not to live to make the King and the world see how I have been misjudged in this business,—to him

Offers to relate fully and circumstantially his entire knowledge of the Conspiracy, from the date of his first complicity with Brooke to that of his quarrel with Markham.

[1] Lord Grey had previously made application for leave to obtain the attendance upon him, during his imprisonment, of a youth who was to act as an amanuensis and reader.

and my religion. And you will cleerly finde,—however you haye judged mee,—yet I never deserved but to bee held your lovinge frend. And, as I desire the King's favour, I know not the gentleman in his kingdoom—out of this place[1]—that I can say hath thought of innovasion.

GREY.

1603. December.

## XVIII.

### SIR GEORGE HARVEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER, TO SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 77 (Hatfield). Holograph.

MY SINGULER GOOD LORDE,

KNOWING howe easelie a man might be lymed in matters of treason, I did heretofore leave my sonne to him sellffe, without making of any apollogie for him (because I knewe not the quallitie of his offence). But now that the lawe and His Majesty's mercyes have had ther course, I am bold to acquaint your Lordship with these inclosed, written unto me by the Lord COBHAM, the 24 of October last, wherebie he hath, under his own hande, manifested the gret desire he had, of him sellffe (without any instigacion of my sonne), to justifie Sir W[ALTER] R[ALEGH]; which course of his being by me then stopped (as was fitt), he diverted it, as I conceive and as is verie lykely, unto Sir W. him sellffe;—which I leave unto your honorable considerations. And do humblie crave pardon to intreat your honorable commiserations towards my unworthie sonne, in releasing his restraint.

1603. Dec. 17. Sir G. Harvey to Lord Cecil. From the Tower. Enclosing Lord Cobham's confession of remorse for his false accusation of Ralegh; prior to the message sent through the younger Harvey.

[1] Winchester?

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1603. Dec. 17.

In my last (in the anguishe of my mynde for my sonne's offence) I certified your Lordships of my willingnes to leave this place[1] which I hold (so as it might be without disgrace). But, if I shold uppon this suddain be putt from it (my sonne's errors being in fresh memorie), it wold touche my reputacion very much. Besids my hole provisions (to my great charge) being layd in heere, I cannot without infinite troble and hinderaunce in winter tyme remove them and my housholde; my humble sute therfore is that (in consideracion of my daungerous and faithfull services) his Majestie wilbe pleased to continewe me heere untill one yeare expired, or at the least untill Our Ladie daye next, in which tyme the memorye of errors wilbe well quenched, and I, with less troble and loss, inhabled to remove; wherin I humbly intreat your honorable furtherance.

Yesterday I receyved direction from your Lordships, for ease of my Lord GREY, to lodge him in the bricke tower—which, belonging to the Master of the Ordinaunce, I have thought good to acquaint your Lordship therwith, because he shold not therebie take any offence, —notwithstanding that, in my predecessor's tyme, I have knowen divers of the Prisoners there lodged. And so, being readie therein to do any thing that your Lordships shall think fitt, do humbly take my leave. The Tower, 17° December, 1603.

Your Lordship's ever most bounden,

G. HARVY.

Addressed:

*To the right honorable my very singuler good Lorde, the Lord* CECILL, *His Majesties Principall Secretarie; att the Courte.*

Endorsed, in Lord Cecil's hand: "17 *Dec.* 1603. *Sir G. Harvy.*"

[1] *I.e.* the Lieutenancy of the Tower.

*ENCLOSURE IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.*

## XIX.

## HENRY, LORD COBHAM, TO SIR GEORGE HARVEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.

From the Original. *Cecil Papers*, vol. cii. § 76. Holograph. Without date. Enclosed in HARVEY'S Letter to CECIL of December 17th.

MR. LIEUTENANT,

IF that I may wright unto the Lords I wold, toching Sir WALTER RAWLYE; besyds my letter to my Lord CISELL:[1] God is my wittnes, it doth troble my contiens: As you shall send me word so I will do, that my letter may be redy agaynst your sonn's going: I wold very fain have the words that the Lords used of my barberousnes in accusing him falsly. I ever troble you: if God ever mayk me able, you shall find me thankfull: if otherwis, God will requit your charitie towards me.

Your true prisoner,

HENRY COBHAM.

Noted, in the margin, by Sir G. Harvey: "*Recd.* 24*o. Octobr.*"

[1] The *colons* printed in this letter are so written in the original MS.

APPENDIX VI. Plots and Counter-plots of 1602-1603.

1603. Oct. 24. Lord Cobham to Sir G. Harvey. Remorse concerning his charge against Ralegh.

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## XX.

### SECRETARY LORD CECIL OF ESSINGDON TO SIR GEORGE HARVEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER.

1603. Dec. 20.

Lord Cecil to Sir G. Harvey.

S[r] W. RALEGH being desirous to have this little trunk againe, I send it him. Only I have staied 3 papers: First, *y[e] K[ing] of Sp[ain's] Will;* [2] a *Discourse of Spanish government;* [3] a little *Collection of Comon Places.* All things els are in it; and these shalbe restored when he will have them, or when I have redd them.

Your loving friend,

RO. CECYLL.

On the return of Papers belonging to Sir W. Ralegh.—Letter of thanks to the King.

[POSTSCRIPT.]—I pray you tell S[r] W. R. y[t] I will deliver any l[re] [1] of his to the K[ing], to whom I think it very fitt y[t] [2] he do write thanks; and, as they deserve, indeav[our] [3] to shew that he, only, accompts them dew to him. For y[e] rest of his l[re], by Sir ROB[t] MANSFIELD, tell him he can be no more sensibell of my part towards him, then I confess I wold be gladd of his future good; w[ch] I write *ingenue;* and can look for no more from him then he doth profess, nor will believe less.

Addressed: "*To my very loving frend, Sir* GEORGE HARVY, *Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London.*"

Endorsed: "*Rec'd.* 20 *December,* 1603. *My Lo. Cecill. S[r] W. R. his trunck.*"

[1] *letter.* [2] *that.*

[3] This word, which I read '*indeav,*' may possibly be '*indead.*' Anyhow,—whether we read '*indeed*' or '*endeavour,*'—the precise meaning of the sentence is somewhat obscure. The punctuation—here, as elsewhere—is, of course, the Editor's. But in this instance I have thought it best to print the *abbreviations,* instead of extending them, as has been usually done.

## VII.—*RALEGH'S EXECUTION.*

### I.

QUEEN ANNE OF DENMARK, CONSORT OF KING JAMES THE FIRST, TO GEORGE VILLIERS, MARQUESS OF BUCKINGHAM.

From a transcript made by Archbishop SANCROFT, from the original Letter, then in his possession. MS. TANNER, vol. ccxcix. fol. 87 (**Bodleian Library, Oxford**). Without date.

*ANNA R.*

MY KIND DOGGE,

IF I have any power or credit with you, I pray you let me have a trial of it, at this time, in dealing sincerely and ernestly with the King that Sir WALTER RALEGH'S life may not be called in question.

If you do it so that the success answer my expectation, assure yourself that I will take it extraordinarily kindly at your hands; and rest one that wisheth you well, and desires you to continew still, as you have been, a true servant to your Master.

Addressed: "*To the Marquis of Buckingame.*"

APPENDIX VII. Ralegh's Execution.

1618. [October ?]

Queen Anne to the Marquess of Buckingham.

Entreaty for his influence with the King to prevent the execution.

## II.

## CAREW RALEGH TO THE KING.

From an early copy in MS. ASHMOLE, dcclxxxi. fol. 101 (**Bodleian Library, Oxford**). Without date, signature, or superscription.

APPENDIX VII. Ralegh's Execution. 1618. October?

Carew Ralegh to King James.

Entreaty for his father's pardon.

IT may please your Majestie mercifully to looke downe upon the distressed estate of my poore Father, sometyme honnored with manie great places of commaund by the moste worthy Queene ELIZABETH, the possessor whereof she lefte him at her death, as a token of her good will to his loialtie. That the same may stand up as an example and protection of those whoe beare the stamp and marke of your Majesties favor, as alsoe to uphould that redeeminge hand of your princely goodnes which once saved him from destruction.

Greate Lord, conceit not too grievously the error of a despairated minde, torne with everie misfortune, whilst his lounge shiftings for life perswaded the fittest for the capacities of humors not his own. And, greate Lord, though merrit and reason cannot requier, yet let the priviledge of old age and the innocency of a fatherles child begg mercie from your Majestie,—and from the Image of God, who pardons the greatest offences to the meanest sutor.

## III.

### DR. ROBERT TOUNSON, DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, TO SIR JOHN ISHAM, BART.

From the Original, as communicated to THOMAS HEARNE, in 1731, by its then possessor, Sir JUSTINIAN ISHAM, Bart.; and by HEARNE printed in the Appendix to his Preface to WALTERI HEMINGFORDE *Historia* (vol. i. pp. clxxxi. seqq.). Holograph.

SIR,

THE last weeke was a busy weeke with me; and the weeke afore that, was more. I would gladly have with yow, but could find no time: yet I hope yow had the relation of Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH'S death; for so I gave order, that it should be brought unto yow. I was commanded by the Lords of the Counsayle to be with him, both in prison and att his death, and so sett downe the manner of his death as nere as I could. There be other reports of itt, but that which yow have from me is trew; one CRAFORD, who was sometimes Mr. RODE-KNIGHT'S pupil, hath penned it prettily, and meaneth to putt it to the presse; and came to me about it, but I heare not that it is come forth. The summe of that which he spake att his death, yow have, I suppose, already: when he never made mention of his offence for which he dyed, namely his former treason; but only desired to cleare himself of new imputations, there mentioned. Privately, he told me in prison, that he was charged to have broken the peace of Spaine, but he put that, he sayd, out of the count of his offences; saving that he heard the King was displeased att it; for how could he breake peace with him, who within these 4 years, as he

APPENDIX VII. Ralegh's Execution.

1618. Nov. 9.

Dr. Robert Tounson (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) to Sir John Isham.

Narrative of the manner of Ralegh's death.

APPENDIX VII. Ralegh's Execution. 1618. Nov. 9.

sayd, tooke diverse of his men, and bound them backe to backe and drowned them? And for burning the towne, he sayd it stood upon the King's owne ground, and therefore he did no wrong in that. He was the most fearlesse of death that ever was knowen; and the most resolute and confident, yet with reverence and conscience.

When I begann to incourage him against the feare of death, he seemed to make so light of itt that I wondred att him; and when I told him, that the deare servants of God, in better causes than his, had shrunke backe and trembled a little, he denyed not, but yet gave God thanks, he never feared death; and much lesse then, for it was but an opinion and imagination; and the manner of death though to others might seeme greevous, yet he had rather dye so then of a burning fever: with much more to that purpose, with such confidence and cheerefulnesse, that I was fain to divert my speach another way, and wished him not to flatter himselfe; for this extraordinary boldnesse, I was afrayd, came from some false ground. If it sprong from the assurance he had of the love and favour of God, of the hope of his Salvation by Christ, and his own innocency, as he pleaded, I sayd he was an happy man; but if it were out of an humour of vain glory or carelessnesse or contempt of death, or senselessnesse of his own estate, he were much to be lamented, &c. For I told him, that Heathen Men had sett as little by their lives as he could doe, and seemed to dye as bravely. He answered that he was perswaded, that no man, that knew God and feared Him, could dye with cheerfullness and courage, except he were assured of the love and favour of God unto him; that other men might make shewes outwardly, but they felt no joy within; with much more

to that effect, very Christianly, so that he satisfyed me then, as I thinke he did all his spectators at his death.

After he had received the Communion in the morning, he was very cheerfull and merry, and hoped to perswade the world, that he dyed an innocent man, as he sayd. Thereat I told him, that he should do well to advise what he sayd; men in these dayes did not dye in that sort innocent, and his pleading innocency was an oblique taxing of the Justice of the Realm upon him. He confessed Justice had been done, and by course of Law he must dye; but yet, I should give him leave, he sayd, to stand upon his innocency in the fact; and he thought, both the King, and all that heard his aunswers, thought verily he was innocent for that matter. I then pressed him, to call to mind what he had done formerly, and though perhaps in that particular, for which he was condemned, he was cleare, yet for some other matter, it might be, he was guilty; and now the hand of God had found him out, and therefore he should acknowledge the Justice of God in itt; though at the hands of men he had but hard measure. And here I putt him in mind of the death of my Lord of ESSEX: how it was generally reported that he was a great instrument of his death, which if his hert did charge him with, he should heartily repent, and ask God forgivenesse. To which he made aunswere, as is in the former relation, and sayd moreover, that my Lord of ESSEX was fetcht off by a trick, which he privately told me of.

He was very cheerfull that morning he dyed; eate his breakfast hertily, and tooke tobacco; and made no more of his death, than if had bene to take a journey; and left a great impression in the minds of those that beheld him; inasmuch that Sir LEWIS STUKELY and the Frenchman grow very odious. This was the news a

APPENDIX VII. Ralegh's Execution. 1618. Nov. 9.

weeke since; but now it is blowen over, and he allmost forgotten.

The newes which I hear is, that the promoter of Kowel hath gotten his charges of Sir THOMAS BROOKES, and Sir THOMAS much cheeted, and hath entered into a bond of a £100. to the promoter, never to molest or trouble him againe, and the promoter is as cranke, and triumpheth in his victory very much; and Sir THOMAS glad he hath escaped so. I once saw HENRY TREMILL, and that is all. What is become of ROBIN. DALLISON, I cannot tell; but he was here in great expectation of a place, which I thinke now he has fallen from; for all officers here are much younger than himselfe. The business of the Treasurer sleepeth; and that of my Lord of EXETER and Sir THOMAS LAKE will not be called upon this terme. There be, as I heare, 17,000 sheets of paper in that Book, which, upon ordinary account, cometh to eight hundred and fifty pounds, the very writing. The King and Prince, thanks be to God, are very well. The Queen is still at Hampton Court, and crazy, they say. Yow will remember me kindly to my Lady and your mother; and if yow have any imploiment for me here, yow shall find me allwayes

att your service,

ROBERT TOUNSON.

Westminster College, Nov. 9, 1618.

Addressed:

*To the Right Worshipfull my very loving frend Sir* JOHN ISHAM, *at his Howse in Langport in Northamptonshire; This.*

## IV.

## RALEGH'S FIRST TESTAMENTARY NOTE.

### NOVEMBER 1618.

From Sir THOMAS WILSON'S transcript. *Domestic Correspondence:* James I. vol. ciii. § 37 (**Rolls House**).

APPENDIX VII. Ralegh's Execution. 1618. Testamentary Note, delivered to Sir Thomas Wilson.

THERE is a lease of certaine parcells of land, claymed by one JOHN MEERE, near Sherborne Castle. MEERE clayming it by a grant of myne to one Captain THOMAS CAUFEILDE, I do protest before God I never made any lease or grant to CAUFEILDE of that land.

There is a lease in controversy betweene the Lord BOYLE and one HENRY PINE, of the Castle and lands of Mogile,[1] in the county of Corck in Ireland; and although I did write something at my going from Ireland towards Guiana to the prejudice of PINE'S lease, yet since that time better bethinking myself, I desire that the opinion which I gave of PINE'S lease may be no evidence in law against PINE, but that it may be left to other prooffs on both sydes.

I desire that my wife, if shee enjoy her goods, may have consideration of CHRISTOPHER HAMON'S wyfe. That my wife do in any case, according to her ability, releive Mr. JOHN TALBOT'S wife,[2] who, I feare me,—her sonn being deade,—will otherwise perish.

[1] So in MS.

[2] John Talbot was one of his faithful servants, who had attended him throughout the long imprisonment in the Tower and had followed him to Guiana, where he died.

APPENDIX VII. Ralegh's Execution. 1618.

Sir LEWIS STUKELEY sold all the tobacco at Plimouth of which, for the most part of it, I gave him a fift part of it, as also a role for my Lord Admirall and a role for himself. He had also tenn peeces of mee the Sonday that wee tooke boate, which he pretended to borrow to send his men into the country, which notwithstanding hee sent downe the river to joyne with Mr. HARBERT I desire that hee may give his account for the tobacco.

W. RALEGH.

Endorsed by Sir Thomas Wilson :

*A copy of the note written by Sir Walter Rawley, in his owne hand, which hee gave me for discharge of his conscience, &c.*

## V.

## RALEGH'S SECOND TESTAMENTARY NOTE.

From a contemporary Transcript. MS. COTTON, Titus C vi. § 93 (**British Museum**).

I DID never receive advise from my Lord CAREW to make any escape, neither did I tell ytt STUKELEY.

I did never name my Lord HEY[1] and my Lord CAREW to STUKELEY in other words or sence then as my honourable freinds, among other Lords my honourable freinds.

I did never shew unto STUKELEY any letter wherein there were £10,000 named, nor ance one pound. Onely

[1] James Hay, first Baron Hay of Sauley, created Viscount Doncaster, in 1618; and Earl of Carlisle, in 1622; K. G.

I told him I hoped to procure the paiment of his debts in his absence.

I never had Commission from the French king. I never saw the French king's hand nor seale in my life.

I never had any plot or practise with the French, directly or indirectly, nor with any other King, Prince, or State, unknowing to the King.

My true intent was to goe to a Mine of Gold in Guiana. Itt was not fained, but is true that such a Mine there is, within three miles of St. Tome.

I never had itt in my thought to goe for Trinidado, and leave my companies to come after to the Salvage Ilands, as hath by FERN bine falsly reported.

I did not carrie with me 100 peces (as I remember). I had with me 60 peeces, and I brought backe neare about the said somme.

I did never speake to the French MANNERING[1] anie one disloyall word, or dishonorable word, of the King. Noe; if I had not loved and honored the King truly, and trusted in his goodnesse somewhat too much, I had not suffred death.

These things are true, as there is a God, and as I am now to appeare before his tribunall-seate, where I renounce all mercy and salvacion if this be not a truth.

Att my death,

W. RALEIGH.

[1] Manourie, a French surgeon—or quack doctor—who at that time was established in London; and who is "the Frenchman" mentioned in the preceding letter of Dr. Tounson (p. 491), The conversation alleged against Ralegh was said to have occurred at Salisbury, during the journey from Plymouth to London. (See Vol. I. Chap. XXVII.)

## VI.

## AN INVENTORY OF SUCH THINGS AS WEARE FOUND ON THE BODY OF SIR WALTER RAWLEY, KNIGHT, THE 10TH DAY OF AUGUST, 1618.

From the Original (but with a supposititious signature). *Domestic Correspondence:* James I. vol. xcviii. § 79 (**Rolls House**). With the attestations and notes (marked ***) of Secretary Sir ROBERT NAUNTON and of Sir ALLEN APSLEY, Lieutenant of the Tower.

APPENDIX VII. Ralegh's Execution. 1618.

IMPRIMIS, in gowld about £50, in his pursse and owne custody.

Item, a Guiana idoll of gold and copper.

Item, a Jaccintt seale, set in gold, with a Neptun cut in yt; with certen Guiana oare tyed to yt.

Item, a Symson stone, set in gold.

Item, a loadstone, in a scarlett purrse.

Item, an aunciant seale of his own armes, in silver.

Item, one ownce of ambergrease; left with him for his own use.

Item, a spleene stone; left with him for his owne use.

Item, one wedge of fine gold at 22 carracts.

Item, one other stobb of courser gold.

Item, 63 gold buttons, with sparks of diamonds.

Item, a chayne of gold, with sparks of diamonds.

Item, one diamond ring of 9 sparks.

Item, one gold whistle, set owt with smale diomonds.

Item, one gold case of a pictuer set with diomonds which, according to Sir WALTER'S desier, is left apart with Mr. Levetennant.

Item, one ringe with a diamond which he weareth on his finger. *** *Given him by the late Queen.*

Sir George Calvert.

+Item, one Plott of Guiana and Nova Regnia, and another of the river of Orenoque.

The Description of the River of Orienoque.

A Plott of Panama.

+A Tryall of Guiana oare, with a description thereof.

+A sprigg jewell, sett with soft stones and a made ruby in the middest.

+Fyve assayes of the Silver Mine.

W. RAWLEY.

*** *I thought fitt to send you this note of such thinges as were left in his hands, that you might see whether he hath used them in way of subornation, by your own discrete observation, before examination. Those that be crossed are delivered over by warrant.*

R. NAUNTON.

All these particulars noted within and the rest crossed, except the picture, were delivered to Sir LEWIS STUKLYE. Sealed uppon a bagg, by the hands of

ALLEN APSLEY.

## *POSTSCRIPT TO LETTER CLVIII.*

(PAGE 372.)

From a transcript in the hand of Sir THOMAS WILSON. *Domestic Correspondence:* JAMES I., vol. ciii. No. 21, A. The Letter to which this is an authentic *Postscript* has been misbound; so that the *recto* of the leaf has been made the *verso*. Hence the omission.

1618. Oct. 4. Sir W. Ralegh to Lady Ralegh.

WHEN the shipp shalbe praysed, Mr. HARBERT is to have a fourth part, wanting a thride, for he adventured 11 hundred, and the fourth part came to seventeene hundred or thereabouts; and so, after that rate, he is to have a 4th part as the shipp is praysed; deducted a third.

Adventurers' shares in the ship *Destiny*, employed in the last Guiana expedition.

Ther is in the bottome of the sedar chist some paper bookes of myne. I pray make them up alltogether, and send them me. The title of one of them is *The Art of War by Sea.*[1] The rest are notes belonging unto it.

The lost *Treatise on the Art of War by Sea.* With a Note by Wilson.

Ther is amongst the litle glasses the powder of steele and pumex, for to stay the flux. If you can, finde it now; for I have had a greevous loosenes, and feare that it will turne to the bloddy flux. Send some more bitony.

[1] See Chap. XXII. of *Life of Ralegh* (Vol. I. pp. 505-507). This treatise is now known only by fragments. Some of them are preserved in MS. COTTON, Titus B viii. These are in Ralegh's autograph. Others I have nowhere seen, save in MS. JONES 60, now in Dr. Williams' Library, in London. These are copies, transcribed into a mere compilation, by an unknown hand, of Ralegh's Miscellaneous Tracts.

NOTE ON THE ABOVE POSTSCRIPT, BY SIR T. WILSON. 1618. Oct. 4.

*My Lady* RAWLEY *hath noe other wrytyngs but only articles of agreements what parts of the goods or treasur gotten in the viag . . .*[1] *shold have for furnishing or setting out their shipps: viz.—*

PENNINGTON £24 6*s.* 0*d. of every hundred; Sir* J.[OHN] FERNE £12 6*s.* 0*d. on every hundred; Sir* W.[ARHAM] SELLENGER £10[2] 6*d. They are ingrossed, and signed and sealed by Sir* W. RAWLEY.

*She saith that all other things that are mentioned in this letter were delivered to Sir* G.[EORGE] CALVERT, *and the chests*[3] *ar with Alderman* COKAINE.

[1] Here occurs in MS. an omission of an intended word or two. Probably, the omitted words should read "*the Adventurers.*"

[2] No shillings are mentioned.

[3] This word is conjectural. The note has been written in great haste, and in some parts is scarcely legible.

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